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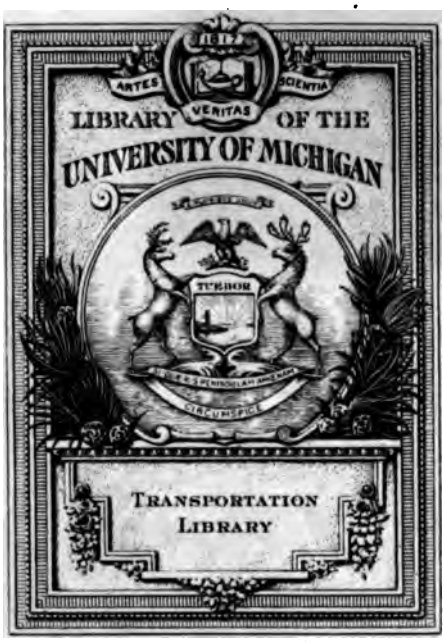
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MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

BY

SAVEL ZIMAND

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PREFACE

The new *motif* in the history of the last century is the general realization by the community that something must be found to solve the social ills of the world. In this volume, I have tried to trace in general lines the origin, philosophy, and strength of contemporary social and industrial movements and have given a critically selected reading list about each of these movements. Naturally, the selection of the different "roads to freedom" is more or less arbitrary and should be so considered. I have included only the main proposals and have omitted social and industrial ideas which in the eyes of many persons may appear very important.

The earlier part of the volume deals with Trade Unionism and the Cooperative Movement. The adherents of both of these movements claim that if carried out to their logical conclusions they will remedy existing evils without fundamental changes in the social order. The three plans classed as experiments in industrial democracy, namely, Copartnership, National Councils, and the Plumb Plan, are practical steps toward industrial control by the workers, the first and second of which have already been initiated. The movement for a Single Tax may be classified as fundamental social reform rather than social reorganization.

Socialism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism and Anarchism are important movements seeking a complete social reorganization. Bolshevism's social regime is included with considerable emphasis because it represents the first attempt at such reorganization on a national scale. Communism, in so far as it is a distinct movement, has been covered in the description of labor parties in various countries and under Bolshevism.

This volume was finished a year ago. Since then, many changes have occurred in the world of labor, and I have tried to bring the reference as far as possible to date. In discussing Socialism, I have treated merely the most important countries. As much as possible I have tried to follow the advice of the Oxford Scholar, Dr. Routh of Magdalen, who offered to an

equally learned man the advice, "Always wind up your watch and verify your references." I am aware, however, that on account of the numerous changes which have occurred in the different socialist parties and in the trade union world, some mistakes may have slipped by, and for these I ask the reader's indulgence.

I am taking this opportunity to thank Leonard Abbott, Evans Clark, Alex Gumberg, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Algernon Lee, Albert Sonnichsen, Alexander Trachtenburg, Dr. Carlo Tresca, and Mrs. James Warbasse for their great kindness in reading parts of the manuscript relative to those movements with which they are familiar, and for their very valuable suggestions. To the Staff of the Bureau, I wish to express my thanks for the patience and continual help. Last but not least, I have to extend many thanks to Miss Marion Taylor, formerly associated with the Bureau, and Frank Anderson, associated with the Bureau, whose untiring cooperation I have had at every step of this work. Without their hearty support this volume could not have been completed.

SAVEL ZIMAND.

Bureau of Industrial Research,
New York City.
May, 1921.

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INTRODUCTION

The labor movement, in all its phases, has attained such proportions in modern civilization, that interest in it is no longer confined to its membership and a few curious students. The following pages bear eloquent witness to this fact. The range of labor activities, the power of labor in European councils, to say nothing of the Russian experiment, and the strength of trade unionism in industries are forced upon the attention of the public at large by the headlines and editorials of the daily press.

There are, of course, ups and downs in the labor movement as in most other human undertakings. The unions in particular trades rise, flourish, and decay or are transformed. Labor parties appear and disappear. But the labor movement, broadly conceived, gains momentum each decade. The membership of trade unions, marked, it is true, by fluctuations, shows a general trend upward. The capital and membership of cooperative societies increase from year to year. Political parties appealing to labor and sustained by it have, within the last twenty-five years, enlarged the sphere of their direct and indirect influence in the affairs of state. The phrase "industrial democracy" has become a slogan likely to be as significant in the twentieth century as the term political democracy was in the nineteenth century. The collectivist drift in legislation and administration has swept all governments away from their ancient moorings. Every thoughtful person is speculating upon the future.

It is not necessary, however, to enter upon the domain of prophecy to justify the great pains taken by Mr. Zimand in preparing this monumental bibliography on the labor movement. It is not necessary to assume that labor will play, in the future, a rôle comparable to that of the military caste, the landed aristocracy, or the capitalist class in order to give a significance to the literature here described. A casual study of the current philosophy of economics and politics reveals the steadily deepening influence of labor ideals and activities upon our thinking about

social questions. Having its roots far down in the life of millions of people, being interwoven with the very fibre of industrialism, the labor movement partakes of the character of a huge natural process, moving forward under the stress of relentless forces that will not be stayed. To ignore it or to suppose that a few years of the "bread-line" will eradicate it, is to betray a profound misunderstanding of its place in the great scheme of things.

There was a time when such a bibliography of the labor movement would appeal only to a handful of students. Today even the stanchest advocate of "business unionism" has learned the limitations of the battle for hours and wages. Forced by stern necessity to consider their social implications, he is compelled to turn to the wider philosophy of the labor movement to see what it has to teach. By no conceivable process can business unionism disentangle itself from broad relations and responsibilities no matter how much it may protest that it is hewing to the old line. It is hewing into the structure of a living social organism. Modern journalists have learned to their chagrin that they cannot write the day's news or about the day's news without having more than a superficial acquaintance with the Molly Maguires, the Homestead riots, and the Pullman strike. Those who have occasion to deal directly with labor either as employment administrators or employers are beginning to learn that there is a relation between production and the thought of those who are engaged at forge and loom. Thus there is daily widened the range of those who must know about the rise and growth of the labor movement in all its phases. To them Mr. Zimand has rendered a distinct and noteworthy service.

No attempt to perform exactly this service has ever been made before. There are, it is true, a number of useful bibliographies on labor, but they are either restricted in scope or quite out of date. They are more than obsolete in a chronological sense. They tell of a world that has passed into history. The daily press has given us vivid impressions of the momentous transformation that has taken place in the labor world since 1914. Many important ideas and associations rose and flourished long before the World War and must be covered in a sound bibliography, but any one whose knowledge of the labor movement is limited to the period before the great

cataclysm is poorly prepared to think, speak, or write about the modern world of labor. It is for this reason also that Mr. Zimand's labors are to be cordially appreciated.

The care with which he has covered the foreign field is likewise a commendable feature of his undertaking. Politics may "stop at the water's edge," but neither capital nor labor does. The whole structure of modern finance is international. It was already international before 1914. The outcome of the war has doubly emphasized this feature of modern economy. London, New York, Paris, and Tokio, to say nothing of other strongholds of finance, are but the nerve centers of one mighty economic organism. World trade catches the United States tightly in this mesh. The state of European commerce and exchange, the enormous debts due this country from the former companions in war only reinforce the stout net already woven about American capital.

So labor has become international. The mobility of labor is almost as great as the mobility of capital. Modern means of transportation flings it forward and back across the surface of the earth as the demand rises and falls. As all important industries depend upon the international market, so the labor conditions in each country are a matter of grave concern to those who seek to raise the standards in any country. This is a commonplace too often forgotten by ardent advocates of nationalism. For these reasons organized labor in its various forms takes on international features. Regular trade unions as well as socialistic parties hold international conferences. Ideas are exchanged. Experiences are compared. Programs are modified in the light of general experience. Labor leaders, both economic and political, sit around common tables as great bankers from the ends of the earth gather at London, Paris, or New York to consider matters of common concern and interest. If, therefore, a student of the modern labor movement should be provincial enough to care only for the records of his own country the necessities of the case require him to broaden his outlook. Mr. Zimand has made clear the way for him.

It is not merely the professed student of the subject who will make use of this bibliography. There is an increasing number of neophytes who will have recourse to it. To them the Hirsch-Dunker unions, the C. G. T., the Unione Italiana del Lavoro, will be as Greek to the barbarians. Accordingly Mr.

Zimand has made smooth the way by a device not usually found in bibliographies. He has written a brief preface in which he has sketched the significant features of the labor movement in the various countries. In a word he gives in succinct form a clue to the tangled maze of materials in which the new worker might readily lose himself.

Of Mr. Zimand's qualifications for undertaking such a bibliography it is hardly necessary to speak. The fruits of his labors speak for themselves. However, by way of assurance to those who do not know him personally, I may say that he is well equipped for this task. His knowledge of European languages and European countries is wide and sure. He has visited all the leading nations of which he speaks. The titles of the books and papers which he records are not mere strings of words mechanically set together. He is acquainted with the literature which they represent and the life which they reflect. He is himself a student, not a maker of card catalogues, but he has none of that unwarranted contempt which students sometimes have for the librarian's profession. He has served his apprenticeship in that craft. Still he makes no claims to omniscience or perfection. He knows with the editor of the great Oxford Dictionary that a work which is complete is never published and that one which is published is never complete. It is a pleasure, therefore, to commend his labors to all who have occasion to inquire into the rise and growth of the modern movement.

It is a promising sign that the Bureau of Industrial Research, under whose auspices this bibliography was prepared, proposes first to acquaint students with the literature of the labor movement. Thoroughness ought to be the watchword of those who undertake to write or to lead in this sphere. The director, Mr. Robert W. Bruère, knows from long experience in the field of social economy that a comprehension of what has been said and done about any particular matter is the beginning of wisdom.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

December 14, 1920.

TRADE UNIONISM

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TRADE UNIONISM

The best definition of a trade union is to be found in the name itself, which means the union of all in one trade. "It goes back," Hoxie writes in his "Trade Unionism in the United States," "in its genesis ultimately to the common needs and problems of the wage workers; it rises immediately out of the consciousness of the common or group character of those needs and problems; it exists for common action looking to the betterment of the living conditions. . . . The organization and the specific form or structure which it takes are merely the instruments which the group adopts for propagating its viewpoint and putting its program into effect." "Unionism," says Hoxie again, "is one of those group forces whose influence is effective in a greater or less degree in determining every feature and standard in our industrial, political, social, ethical and religious life."

The earliest unions sought to comprise all workers of one craft in a single factory; later they enlarged their scope by including all those employed in a single trade in a local community. This organization was still further extended to national and, finally, international dimensions.

The forms and structures assumed by the trade union in its wider meaning are various. There are the familiar craft organizations, the unions organized on the basis of the material on which their members are working, called by Mr. G. D. H. Cole "material trade unionism," and the unions organized to include all workers in a given industry. Some unions are restricted to members of one sex. Finally there is the so-called "One Big Union," an inclusive form whose advocates seek to include all workers without distinction of trade, industry or sex. All these types of unions appear with endless gradations and variations.

No single governing unit can be ascribed to trade unions. Some are mainly conducted as branch or local bodies, with shop and district committees in active control. Others are national or international, with central executives, either paid or on a

voluntary basis. Local unions are also organized geographically into central unions of city or state, to handle special matters peculiar to the locality, but always under the jurisdiction of the national unions. Representation on the national boards is determined on geographical or trade lines or on both. Almosot all unions hold an annual or biennial national convention. The referendum to the entire membership is widely used by some unions and by others only to determine fundamental questions of policy.

The structure and government of trade unionism differs in the different countries as a result of differences of government and of industrial conditions. The American trade union movement is in part organized by international unions into an American Federation of Labor to promote the economic welfare of the workers outside of political parties. England, with its many independent unions, now on the way to amalgamation, finds them almost united in the support of the Labour Party. Germany's Social-Democratic unions form the economic arm of the different Socialist parties. In France the unions, originally moulded by anarchist influence, have, since the Great War, become more centralized. The purposes of trade unionism are various. They range from a limited conception of the economic betterment of the craft to the enthusiastic interpretation which sees in the movement the economic emancipation of the worker through the abolition of the wage system. The object and purpose of trade unionism are not merely to press for higher wages and shorter hours. Of late trade unionism in all industrial countries has become the most vital force through which the workers expect the reconstruction of society. "The only thing which makes the governments stand up and take notice," writes a high official of the British Labour Party, "is industrial action." And, as another authority remarks, "in no single case throughout the nineteenth century, so far as our knowledge goes, was any Factory Act due to the initiative of a Liberal leader. The efforts of Lord Shaftesbury (a Conservative) were, of course, very important, but in the main the whole, both of the initiative and of the driving force, came directly and exclusively from the Trade Unions."[1]

The standard works on Trade Unionism upon which most

[1] From The New Statesman, November 20, 1920.

later books are based, are Sidney and Beatrice Webb's "The History of Trade Unionism" and "Industrial Democracy." The former has just appeared in a revised edition. The second, written about twenty-three years ago, has been republished with a new introduction and both remain today the authoritative books on the subject.

As an introduction to the movement in this country the reader is referred to Robert Franklin Hoxie's "Trade Unionism in the United States." The two volumes of "History of Labour in the United States" by Professor Commons and Associates give an exhaustive study of the facts of trade unionism in relation to the labor movement. General references on the Trade Union movement are found in the American and English labor yearbooks.

THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION

A central international federation of national trade unions has been in existence for about twenty years. The International Trade Union Secretariat was founded in 1901.

International Trade Union Congresses had been held beginning with the later eighties. But it was not until 1901 that a central International body was organized, and its purposes definitely shaped, at the International Conference held at Dublin in 1903. This conference adopted a resolution designed to bring into closer touch the various national trade union organizations "by an intimate knowledge of the progress of the movement in the various countries." In order to carry this out it was decided that the secretaries of the various national federations should forward a yearly report to the Secretary of the International.

The International also "aimed at collection and publication of statistics of Trade Unionism all over the world" and "at the mutual interchange of Trade Union information." In 1912 the number of members affiliated with the International was 7,395,361. The Great War disorganized the International Federation and at the conference of Amsterdam in August, 1919, it passed out of existence.

But at the same conference a new International Federation of Trade Unions was formed with the following objects:

1. The promotion of interests and endeavors of the organizations affiliated on a national and international basis.
2. The promotion of the trade union movement, both national and international, in the countries not affiliated.
3. The promotion of a combined action on all questions of mutual trade union interest.
4. The prevention of international blacklegging.
5. The provision of funds for the promotion and furtherance of the foregoing objects, and such other trade union objects as may from time to time be incorporated in the rules.[1]

The administration of the Federation vests in the Bureau, management committees, and the biennial conference.

Ninety-two delegates from fourteen nations and representing 17,740,000 members attended the Amsterdam conference and participated in the creation of the new International.

In the fall of 1920 a controversy started within the ranks of the International Federation around the question of pure trade unionism versus Socialist trade unionism. Samuel Gompers and Mathew Woll explain their secession from the International as follows:[2]

It is a source of regret that conditions have been so shaped by those who are now controlling the policies and course of the new International Federation of Trade Unions that the A. F. of L. feels constrained to refrain from joining a movement where the independence and autonomy of each national trade union center is not only denied but wherein it is subjected to absolute domination for purposes wholly foreign to the objects for which the International Federation of Trade Unions should be formed.

W. A. Appleton, the president of the International, resigned from the presidency in November, 1920. "Had it been decreed," he wrote to Samuel Gompers on April 15, 1920, "that my election to the Presidency of the International Federation involved my acceptance of Socialism or any other political 'ism,' I should most emphatically have refused the nomination. I stood as a trade unionist, I mean one who has asserted and practised his right to combine with his fellows for the purpose of selling his labour at the best possible price."[3]

The Third International and the Russian units denounced the delegates to the Amsterdam International as "Yellow Leaders" and proceeded to summon a Red Trade Union International, the first congress of which was held the first of the year. (1921).

A special congress of the International Federation of Trade

[1] American Federationist, Vol. XXVI, p. 949, Oct. 1919.
[2] American Federationist, Oct. 1920.
[3] The Democrat, 1920.

Unions took place on November 22, 1920, at which twenty-four million trade unionists were represented instead of the nineteen million represented at the Amsterdam conference,—this despite the defection of America and Russia, each bordering on five million. At this conference a resolution was passed by 21,906,000 to 2,710,000 votes calling for international mass action to end reaction and establish a new social system.

The strength of trade unions affiliated with the International was in 1920 as follows:

Germany	8,500,000
Great Britain (T. U. C.)	6,500,000
Italy	2,300,000
Great Britain (G. F. T. U.)	1,500,000
France	1,500,000
Poland	1,000,000
Austria	800,000
Czecho-Slovakia	750,000
Belgium	700,000
Denmark	300,000
Sweden	281,000
Canada	260,000
Spain	250,000
Holland	240,000
Switzerland	225,000
Hungary	215,000
Norway	150,000
Luxembourg	27,000

TRADE UNIONISM IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Australia and New Zealand

Organization of trade unions in Australia was at first difficult to effect because the betterment of working conditions, hours and wages was more advanced there than in other countries.

The first union was formed by the masons in 1850, followed by other trades a few years later. Soon after their organization the majority of the unions were able to secure the eight hour working day without a strike.

Unsuccessful strikes in 1885-1887 aroused the trade unions to the necessity for political activity. About this time also there appeared the beginnings of a movement toward industrial unionism in the organization of a sheep-shearers' union, industrial in structure, which included all classes of farm labor. Within the last two years industrial unionism has been revived, as noted elsewhere under the subject, Syndicalism.

There is no central unifying body for Australian trade unionism. In the larger towns are Labour Councils, which secure

a measure of co-ordination; and sometimes these Labour Councils in a State capital, such as Sydney, receive affiliation from other parts of that State. The movement supports an active Labour Party whose political strength has brought about more advanced labor legislation than exists in many other countries.

Membership in the Australian Trade Unions was reported as 84,231 in 1900, and in 1919 there were 387,806, or 12.6 per cent of the total population.

In New Zealand trade unionism has gained strength only in recent years.

The New Zealand Workers' Union, which includes shearers, farm and station hands, flax mill workers, timber workers, and employees of the Public Works Department, aims at organizing all rural workers into one big union. The alliance of Labour grew out of the affiliation, first of the waterside and transport workers, and then of the miners. It now includes, among others, railway and transport workers, miners, engineers and metal workers. It is, in effect, a federation of federations.

In 1920 there were 380 unions, with 82,553 members: that is, 7 per cent of the population. Of the unions, 190 were organized into 30 associations, mainly national federations of one craft.

Austria

The Gewerkschaftskommission Oesterreichs (Trade Union Federation of Austria) was composed, before the war, of 77 national and 35 regional organizations, with headquarters in Vienna. The commission is modelled after the German plan, having its constituent unions organized either industrially or on a craft basis.

In spite of the fact that the present Austria is mainly agricultural, and that industrial production has been much hampered as a result of the war, membership in the central union organization is still very large. Fifty-five per cent of the population of Vienna is organized, and approximately every ninth inhabitant of German Austria is a trade union member. In 1913, the union membership was 450,000; in 1916 it had dropped to 166,937; and in 1920 it rose to 800,000, out of a total population of 6,500,000. By comparison with these figures its chief opponent, the Christian trade union movement, appears insignificant.

Belgium

Organized labor in Belgium is divided into three different groups, namely:

1. The General Secretariat of the Christian Professional Unions.
2. The Socialist Unions.
3. The Neutral Unions.

1. The Sécrétariat Général des Unions Professionalles Chrétiennes is affiliated politically with the Clerical party. Its strength rests in general on the Catholic centers of the Flemish provinces. The Catholic unions oppose strikes and do not accept the "class struggle" as inevitable. In 1914 they numbered 81,795 members.

2. The Commission Syndicale du Parti Ouvrier et des Syndicats Indépendants, representing the Socialist Unions, is affiliated industrially as well as politically with the Parti Ouvrier (Labor Party). The Trade Union Commission includes federations of national trade organizations, trade unions not yet federated or belonging to federations not yet affiliated with the Committee. It aims at the development of the solidarity of the working class and its economic emancipation on the basis of the class struggle. Its membership had grown from 160,000 in 1914 to 700,000 in 1920. It includes among its affiliated unions railwaymen, teachers and government employees.

3. The Confédération Syndicale Belge (neutral unions) is composed of Catholics with liberal tendencies and is affiliated with the Parti Ouvrier Libéral. The membership of the neutral unions in 1920 was nearly 200,000.

Canada

The trade union movement in Canada has developed along lines parallel for the most part to the labor movement as expressed by the American Federation of Labor. Almost all labor organizations of Canada are part of the international trade unions in the United States.

The principal organization in the Dominion is the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. It was originally established in 1873, went out of existence for a brief period and was reestablished in 1885. In September 1918 its membership was

117,498. The Congress maintains friendly relations with the British Trades Union Congress. It is closely allied with the A. F. of L. but maintains complete autonomy with respect to all legislation in Canada. Jurisdictional disputes between Canadian unions are settled by the A. F. of L.

The structure of the organization is along the lines adopted by the A. F. of L. Local unions of kindred trades send delegates to the general Congress. The federations of Canada include provincial federations and councils, representing building trades, metal trades, printing trades, railway employees and theatrical employees. The provincial federations are chartered by the Trades and Labour Congress and cover their respective provinces.

The District Councils or Conference Boards in the organization vary in size. In some instances they are confined to a few branches of the same craft in a locality. In others they include all the local branches of a given craft within a stated area. Occasionally they also extend to an entire province or even throughout the Dominion. The Councils meet at certain intervals to consider the welfare of the membership.

Another form of organization is the Trades and Labor Council composed of delegates representing the branch unions in a given city or district. These Councils are purely voluntary and are designed in part to give expression to opinions on public questions.

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada has put forward a political program which includes the demand for a legal working day of six hours and the six day week,[1] for government inspection of all industries, for a minimum living wage based on local conditions, for public ownership of all public utilities such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, waterworks, mines, etc., and for an increased tax on industries and land values.

Until 1917 the Congress tried to influence legislation by conference with and recommendations to the leaders of the legislative bodies in conformity with the nonpartisan policy of the A. F. of L. In 1917 it departed from this policy in favor of the formation of a Dominion-wide labor party. The industrial disturbances of 1917 and 1918, during the period of formation of the labor party, are described in the proceedings

[1] Prior to 1916 the demand was for an eight hour day and a six day week.

of the Trades and Labour Congress convention of 1918, p. 14.[1] The Canadian Federation of Labour is opposed to the Trades and Labour Congress' policy of affiliation with the A. F. of L. It is made up of a score of unions located in Quebec and Toronto, the most influential of which is the Amalgamated Society of Engineers with headquarters in Great Britain.

The total number of trade union members reported at the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada in 1920 was 173,463.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden

DENMARK

The trade union movement of Denmark dates from the seventies. As far back as 1883 the first collective agreement was secured by the cabinet makers' union. Between 1887 and 1900 strikes became common. In 1886 a federation of the trades of Copenhagen was organized, and in 1896 the Danish Laborers' Federation. Two years later the workers created the Danish Trade-Union Association, whose membership in 1920 was 300,000. In addition to this organization there are the so-called Christian trade unions, organized according to church affiliations, which have a membership of about 4,500. There is also a small group of unions organized and controlled by employers.

The Danish Trade-Union Association reflects the German movement in method of organization. Several unions are organized locally by districts and in national federations. The federations are in turn affiliated with the general federation. The national federation is governed by a national convention which meets every two years. It is not a political organization but the members are either voters or members of the Social Democratic Party.

NORWAY

The trade union movement in Norway had its beginnings in 1884 with the founding of the typographical union. In 1899 the National Federation was formed, composed of 75 local organizations, numbering about 20,000 members. Since 1910 it has devoted itself to organizing the seamen and the agricultural

[1] The divergence between eastern and western Canada in matters of policy and principles of labor parties, is analyzed in an article in the Toronto "Industrial Banner" for September 27, 1918.

laborers and in 1919 numbered 150,000 members, out of a total of about 230,00 who are eligible for membership.

The structure of the unions is similar to that of Denmark. They are essentially craft unions. Industrial unionism has, however, developed in certain organizations; as for instance, among iron, steel and metal workers, workers in the paper industry, and the general laborers' federation. The highest legislative authority is the convention which meets biennially.

The National Federation of Trade Unions maintains friendly relations with the Labor Party, two representatives being on its executive committee. The Syndicalist influence in the Trade Union movement is present but not in great strength.

SWEDEN

Workers in Sweden began to organize about the middle of the nineteenth century after the lifting of legal restrictions on the choice of occupations or trades. The first organization of workers was for educational purposes and some groups were composed of both employers and workmen. The Trade Union Movement began in 1880 under the influence of the German and Danish Social Democracy. Six years later national craft federations began to spring up. In 1898 all the national unions united to form the General Confederation of Trade Unions which comprises the great bulk of organized labor in Sweden. This organization attracted to its ranks all the less skilled elements and the agricultural laborers. This Confederation is composed of loosely affiliated self-governing local unions. The highest authority in the movement is the National convention which meets every three years and fixes the policy of the Confederation. The great significance of the Swedish trade union movement is revealed by the fact that in 1920 281,000 persons were organized in bona fide trade unions in a country with only 400,000 wage workers.

The trade union movement maintains cordial relations with the Social Democratic Labor Party, and is also in intimate cooperation with the Trade Union movements in other Scandinavian countries. Its main activities are, however, in the economic field. It is interested in cooperation, community banks, and the like. Collective bargaining is highly developed in the country and recognized by all employers in the principal industries of

Sweden. Wage agreements are usually made on a national scale.

In all the Scandinavian countries employers' organizations are strongly developed.

France

For an account of the trade union movement in France see under Syndicalism, page 210 as French unionism is best known under this name.

Germany

The oldest German trade union was organized in 1848. It was not, however, until the restrictive laws prohibiting associations were removed between 1861 and 1869 (in the various German states) that trade unions began to develop. The opposing factions within the trade union groups consisted of the Marx and Lassalle groups, favoring Socialist political activity, and the so-called Hirsch-Duncker trade unions, which proclaimed the essential harmony of interest between labor and capital. The repressive laws of 1878 made effective labor combinations impossible, and it was not until 1890, when the anti-Socialist law was repealed, that German trade unionism became influential. From that day on its growth has been continuous and rapid.

The main trade union organizations are:

1. Free Trade Unions.
2. Christian Trade Unions.
3. Hirsch-Duncker Trade Unions.
4. Other Trade Unions and Industrial Organizations.
5. Syndicalist Trade Unions (discussed under Syndicalism.)

1. The Free Trade Unions are the most important. The central organization is called the General Federation of Trade Unions, which is headed by a committee of thirteen members elected by a congress of delegates from 52 national unions. The trade union congress meets every three years. In 1910 a department for social research was established for the purpose of preparing material for social legislation.

The Free Trade Union Movement is engaged in an elaborate educational program. Its General Commission has established

give unity to the Trade Union movement. It was created in 1899, with a membership of 343,000, representing 43 societies; by 1919 it had reached a membership of 1,086,000, representing 146 societies. This organization is, however, losing ground. Another attempt to unite the movement appears in the work of the Trades Union Congress, created in 1868, with which the greater number of the more important unions are affiliated. The Congress has no central executive, and up to 1914 it was not very effective. Since 1914 and especially since the growth of the Labour Party it has gained strength. This Trades Union Congress, which is strictly what its name implies, elects a parliamentary committee to watch over legislative measures and to keep in touch with labor problems between the annual conventions.

In addition to these organizations, the Trades Councils form an important part of the British Trade Union movement. They are organized on geographical and industrial lines.

The increased use of shop stewards in British industries during the war expressed a growing tendency toward industrial unionism, local autonomy, and workers' control of industry. A shop steward was chosen by the workers in a particular shop, (most frequently in machine and munition works) to negotiate with the management. The Amalgamated Engineering Union has recognized these stewards as union officials.

Statistics for the year 1918 give the unions a total membership of 6,620,000, of whom 1,220,000 were women;[1] "being over 12 per cent of the census population and probably 60 per cent of all the adult male manual-working wage earners in the kingdom." The total population is estimated as not quite forty-eight millions.[2] The "Labour Gazette" of Dec. 1920 put the total membership at the end of 1919, at 8,024,000. "The total of 8,024,000, however, includes about 56,000 members of overseas branches of certain unions, and also a number of persons (principally teachers) who are members of more than one society, and are therefore counted twice in the figures. When the necessary allowance is made for these cases, the net number of members within the United Kingdom would appear to be a little under eight million."

[1] Labour Gazette, London. v. 28. p. 60. February 1920.
[2] Sidney and Beatrice Webb: History of Trade Unionism. 1920. p. 473.

Italy

Italy has several different trade union organizations which are similar in structure but different in aim. They are as follows:

1. General Federation of Labor.
2. Italian Labor Union.
3. Catholic Unions.
4. Italian Syndicalist Union. (discussed under Syndicalism)

1. The Confederazione General del Lavoro (General Federation of Labor) is the strongest central trade union organization in the country. It is founded upon the Syndicat or union of members of the same trade or industry in a given locality. These Syndicats are organized in a National Federation of all unions in a given industry or trade, and in local clubs called Camere del Lavoro, made up of all trade unions of a given locality. Representatives from these Camere and from their national federations form the General Federation of Labor.

The General Federation of Labor aims at the economic betterment of the working class. In politics it is inclined toward the moderate wing of the socialist party, supporting, however, in general matters such as elections, strikes, etc., the Italian Socialist Party. In 1914 its paid membership was 320,858, of whom 195,858 were industrial, and 125,000 agricultural, workers. In 1920 it claimed a membership of 2,300,000.

2. The Unione Italiana del Lavoro (Italian Labor Union) was organized in 1917 by the pro-war socialists, headed by Alceste de Ambris, who visited the United States in 1919. It forms an adjunct to the pro-war socialist party and claims a membership of 125,000.

3. The Unioni Cattoliche (Catholic Unions) are a numerically unimportant part of the labor movement and are recruited mostly among women, having about 100,000 members.

The Netherlands

Organized workers in the Netherlands have been engaged for a long time in political activity. A great body of organized labor, The Netherlandisch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen, (The Netherland Federation of Trade Unions) is almost

identical with the Social Democratic Party, while on the other hand almost 30 per cent of organized labor is affiliated with unions, which, under the influence of the Catholic or Protestant Churches, are opposed to Socialist aims. The five central organizations of the trade union movement are as follows:

1. Netherland Federation of Trade Unions.
2. Christian National Federation of Trade Unions.
3. Bureau of the Roman Catholic Trade Union Federation.
4. Netherland Federation of Neutral Trade Unions.
5. National Labor Secretariat. (discussed under Syndicalism)

1. The Nederlandisch Verbond van Vekvereenigingen (Netherland Federation of Trade Unions) is the strongest of the organizations. It advocates the aims of the Social Democracy by lawful and orderly methods. It has increased its membership from 44,378 in January, 1911, to 183,041 in September, 1918. It stands in close affiliation with the Social Democratic Labor Party.

2. The Christelyk National Vakverbond (Christian National Federation of Trade Unions) is a federation of unions organized under the guidance of the Protestant Churches, and supports the anti-Revolutionary Party, a conservative party which polled 174,000 votes in the 1918 elections.

3. The Bureau voor de Roomsche Katholicke Vakorgenisatie (Bureau of the Roman Catholic Trade Union Federation) was founded under the influence of the Catholic Church to combat the economic principles of the Socialists. It was encouraged by the papal encyclical issued in 1892, known as "Rerum Novarum." It supports the Clerical Party which is at present the strongest political party in the Netherlands. Its membership grew from 15,541 on January 1, 1911, to 63,139 on January 1, 1918.

4. The Nederlandisch Verbond voor Neutrale Vakvereenigingen (Netherland Federation of Neutral Trade Unions) is not affiliated with any political party. Its membership in January, 1918, was 7,794.

Russia

In Russia prior to 1905 it was illegal to be a member of a trade union. Even after the repeal of the prohibitory law the

unions had a membership of only a few thousands, and were not a significant force in the country's industry.

After the overthrow of the Czar's regime, however, the trade union movement enjoyed a rapid growth, developing within a half year more than a thousand separate organizations with about 2,000,000 members. At once the unions began to use the strike as a political weapon, but did not succeed in securing an eight hour day during Kerensky's régime.

This and other reforms were instituted at the time of the Bolshevik revolution; the unions were given an important status in the control of industry, and at present have charge, under the authority of the Council of People's Commissaries, or Cabinet, and in conjunction with the Commissariat of Labor, of the regulation of wages, working hours, and other conditions of employment; registry of the unemployed, who are paid, subject to conscription for work; inspection of sanitary and general conditions, especially in dangerous or unhealthy occupations; recommendations for factory legislation, etc. The unions are also represented in the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

Russian unions are organized by industries instead of by trades. Because of their political status and authority direct action by strikes or otherwise is unlawful. In the first half of 1920 the unions had increased to 4,483 with a membership of over 5,000,000.

Switzerland

The Swiss trade union movement is very much akin to the German. The Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsverband (Swiss Federation of Trade Unions) was founded in 1882; had in 1919, 200,000 members enrolled, and included twenty federations organized either by industry, as the textile workers, or by craft, as the painters and plasterers. There are other unions such as the engineers with 23,000 members (in 1916) and the State Railwaymen, with 22,000 members (in 1916) which stand outside the Gewerkschaftsverband. The general policy of the Swiss unions is socialistic and they maintain sympathetic relations with the Social-Democratic Party.

The Catholic unions have a federation of their own including 12,000 members and the Syndicalists an organization with about 7,000.

United States

Trade unionism began to develop on a large scale in the United States only after the Civil War.

Societies and local clubs of artisans existed during the earlier part of the 18th century but they had no program of general trade union policy. During the last part of the 18th century and the first part of the 19th, trade unionism showed the first signs of life. Its development was very slow. The unions were weak and met with general opposition. Among the first unions were those of the printers and carpenters.

Robert F. Hoxie in his "Trade Unionism in the United States" divides the development of trade unionism in this country in the following nine phases:

I. The beginnings in the local unions, 1798-1827.
II. Predominance of trade unions, 1827-1837.
III. Predominance of utopian, socialistic and social uplift unionism, 1844-1853.
IV. Reorganization of local unions and beginnings of national trade unions, 1853-1860.
V. Revival of trade unions, 1860-1866.
VI. Attempted amalgamation of national craft unions, 1866-1874.
VII. Predominance of the universal labor union, the Knights of Labor, 1879-1890.
VIII. Predominance of federation of national craft unions, 1890—to the present.
IX. Beginnings of industrial unionism.[1]

The principal functional types of unions Hoxie gives as three: business, uplift, and revolutionary unions. He instances as an example of business unionism the national craft federation, the International Machinists' Union; of uplift unionism, the Knights of Labor, of the revolutionary union, the United Mine Workers' Association; and of the extreme revolutionary, the I. W. W.

Trade unions began about 1820 to make their appearance in local and national form. In the middle of the thirties we find a few important national unions. During the forties utopian Socialist ideas influenced the trade union movement, finding expression in the different working class congresses held during that period. A decade before the Civil War the trade union movement took stronger hold upon the skilled workers, and

[1] Hoxie, Robert F.: Trade Unionism in the United States. 1919. p. 81-7.

the unions gained large numbers of new members. The Civil War interrupted this development of organization among the workers. After this time, however, they grew steadily and began to extend throughout the entire country.

First came the Knights of Labor, which, organized in 1869, had a brief period of growth between 1880 and 1890, and then rapidly disintegrated. The following quotations from its constitution explain its aims:

> The Knights of Labor Assembly is not a mere trade union and beneficial society. . . It aims to assist members to better their condition morally, socially, and financially. . . Among the higher duties that should be taught in every local assembly are man's inalienable inheritance of, and right to share, for use, the soil; that the right to life carries with it the right to the means of living and all statutes that obstruct or deny these rights are wrong, unjust and must give way. Every member who has the right to vote is a part of the government . . . and has a duty to perform. . . In short, any action that will advance the cause of humanity, lighten the burden of toil, or elevate the moral or social condition of mankind. . . is the proper scope and field of operation of a local assembly.[1]

As the Knights of Labor lost their strength the American Federation of Labor, created in 1881, grew until today it is the dominant trade union body in the country. Its president, Mr. Samuel Gompers, testifying before the Commission of Industrial Relations in 1915, explained the objects of the A. F. of L. in part as follows:

> The American Federation of Labor directs its efforts toward the encouragement or formation of trade and labor unions, and the closest federation of such unions . . . the establishment of departments, central bodies for these organizations to aid and assist each other to the fullest in any of the struggles in which they may be engaged; for the protection of the rights and the interests of the membership and of the working people; to promote and advance their interests and rights economically and politically, legislatively and socially; to make life the better for living in our day, and so that the workers may be in a better position to meet any problems with which the future generation may be confronted. In a word, to let no effort go untried by which the working people as the masses of the people, may find betterment upon every field of human activity. There is no limit to any course that may be pursued by our American Federation of Labor if it is calculated to be of advantage to the people of our country and primarily of advantage to the working people. . . I take in the sum total of human activity, regardless upon what field that may be, which can aid, which can promote, and which can advance and protect the rights and the interests of the working people to establish better conditions and also to work for the greatest sum total of human happiness.[2]

Before the same Commission Mr. Gompers described the form of the American Federation of Labor as follows:

> The American Federation of Labor is not, as it is often mistakenly called, an organization, but a federation. It is a federation of organizations, each of which has its own government, determined by its own

[1] Quoted by Hoxie: Trade Unionism in the United States. 1919. p. 90-1.

[2] U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations. 1916. v. 2. p. 1407.

needs and requirements, the result of the experience of the members of the organization; and this right, as in the beginning, has been proclaimed and has been adhered to as consistently as possible in the history of the American Federation of Labor. The Federation has no part except that which is yielded and conceded by the organizations which make up the Federation. . . There are 110 national and international unions. There are, industrially, five departments. There are 42 state federations of labor. There are 623 city central bodies or local city federations of the local trade unions in the city or town, and there are 642 local trade and federated unions directly attached to the American Federation of Labor as local unions, and whose chartered existence to the American Federation of Labor will continue until a sufficient number of each particular calling exists so that a national union may be formed from these locals and set up in business as a sovereign entity in the trade or the calling or the industry covered by these local unions.[1]

The membership as reported to the Convention of 1920 was 4,078,740, with 110 national and international unions, and 36,741 local unions. Adding the membership of the railway brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a number of other trade unions, who are not affiliated with the A. F. of L., we find over 5,000,000 workers organized in this country.

The American Federation of Labor has been affiliated since 1909 with the International Secretariat of the trade union movement which was reorganized in 1919. In the fall of 1920 it seceded.

The high development of machines and large scale production in this country has attracted a very great number of unskilled workers. The marked increase in immigration, especially from Italy and Eastern Europe, brought up the problem of organizing this new element in the population. Whereas the oldest type of immigrant represented to a great extent skilled labor, and was organized into craft unions, the newer type was mostly unskilled for whom no organizations were as yet provided by the A. F. of L. In the past decade the A. F. of L. has supplemented its policy of advocating restriction of immigration with efforts to organize the unskilled.

A new type of trade unionism is presented by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America who dominate the men's and boys' clothing industry. The members of this organization seceded in 1914 from the United Garment Workers of North America and at the same time from the American Federation of Labor. The preamble of the constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers reads in part as follows:

In order to be efficient, and effectively serve its purpose, the union must in its structure correspond to the prevailing system of the organ-

[1] U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations. 1916. v. 2. p. 1493.

ization of industry. Modern industrial methods are very rapidly wiping out the old craft demarcations, and the resultant conditions dictate the organization of labor along industrial lines.

In 1921 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers numbered nearly 200,000 members. In structure the Amalgamated is industrial and very democratic in government. The rules for voting permit the rank and file to control the action of the officials very closely. The philosophy of the organization is similar to Reformist Socialism.

Recent developments in the trade union movement point to a tendency in the different trades toward forming district allied governing bodies to determine the conditions under which the workers shall work. The federated action of international trade unions in the 1919 steel strike, the organization of the four railroad brotherhoods, into the so-called "Big Four," to secure united action, and the formation of a similar organization among the railway shopmen, are illustrations of this new labor technique.

Officially the A. F. of L. does not favor separately organized political action by its membership, and it therefore opposes the recently organized Farmer-Labor Party, and the Socialist Party. It adheres to the motto, "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." Its reconstruction program in the February, 1919, issue of its monthly organ, "The American Federationist," and the account of its convention in the August, 1919, number, indicate its non-partisan policy.

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Baltimore trade union college. Baltimore, Md.

International ladies' garment workers' union. Educational committee. 31 Union square, N.Y.C.

Pennsylvania labor education committee. Abraham Epstein, secy. P.O. Box 662, Harrisburg, Pa.

Rand school of social science. 7 East 15th st. N.Y.C.

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THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

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THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Cooperative Movement is a form of cooperative effort aiming at the association of producers or consumers in self-governing cooperative workshops or consumers' societies. James P. Warbasse defines it as "an organized non-political effort of the people to control the production and distribution of things needed to satisfy their wants. It is devoted to the principle that things should be done and commodities produced for use rather than for exchange."[1]

The Cooperative Movement is widespread and has grown rapidly, approximately doubling its membership in the European countries every ten years. During the war this rate of increase has doubled. The movement uses economic rather than political means, and meets successfully the competition of privately run enterprises.

The Cooperatives have engaged in the banking business, manufacturing, insurance, farming, transportation, etc. The consumers' cooperative movement is more radical in tendency than the agricultural cooperatives. It has received support from socialists, who favor it because it is a training school or laboratory for the collective administration of the people's business and seeks to eliminate the profit system.

In 1843[2] in the town of Rochdale, England, twenty-eight weavers came together to discuss ways and means of bettering their economic condition, and decided to open a cooperative store for their own use. The constitution provided that the goods must be sold at market prices and that each member, man or woman, should have one vote in the affairs of the society. At the end of each quarter of the year profits were to be distributed to the members in proportion to their patronage. The society was thus not for profit but for the benefit of the consumer. Ten years later the membership of the British Cooperative Movement had grown from 28 to nearly 1,000, and

[1] James P. Warbasse—The Destiny of the Cooperative Movement; p. 1.
[2] Many cooperative societies are older than Rochdale.

extended in 1920 to about 4,000,000. The capital invested had risen in 1919 to$243,325,000, and the total turnover to $389,320,000.

In England, as in all other countries, in which the cooperative idea has taken hold, the original Rochdale principle forms the basis of the present day cooperative societies. To become a member a share of one pound ($4.87) must be purchased but may usually be paid for in installments of 3d. (6.1 cents). The maximum value of shares that can be held by any member is fixed by law at 200 pounds ($973.30)[1]. Each member has one vote irrespective of the number of shares held and is eligible to a seat on the board of management, or to any other representative office.

In March, 1864, the first English cooperative wholesale society was founded. The total sales up to 1917 amounted to $2,926,987,045.75.[2] In 1918 their sales amounted to $317,139,877.[3]

The Belgian Cooperative Movement was started in the early eighties with the society called the Vooruit, originally a cooperative bakery whose profits were allowed to accumulate as a benefit and insurance fund for its members. The movement grew along with Socialism and Trade Unionism. The turnover in 1915 amounted to $1,130,000. There is also a Belgian peasants' cooperative league, the Boerenbond.

Cooperation in Denmark began in 1866, when the country was suffering from its war with Prussia. At first it was an agricultural movement, especially in dairy production; and the distributive societies were of later development. The annual trade of all forms of cooperation in 1916 was about $250,000,000. The Danish movement is stronger in proportion to the size of the country than any other.

The French Cooperative movement has been largely agricultural, with a tendency toward decentralization, and the formation of many small societies. Its services in the war zone, which did much to save the soldiers from the greed of profiteers, have gained it considerable favor with government and public. In August, 1918, there were 1,500,000 cooperators, and their yearly accounts amounted to about $115,811,000.[4]

In Germany the movement originated among the middle class,

[1] U.S. Monthly labor review. v. 9. p. 1159. Oct. 1919.
[2] American Labor Year Book. 1917. p. 324.
[3] U. S. Labor statistics bureau. Monthly labor review. v. 9. p. 1162. Oct. 1919.
[4] U.S. Labor statistics bureau. Monthly labor review. vol. 9. p. 1166. Oct. 1919.

but spread to the workers in spite of government opposition, and the expulsion of radical locals from the national organization. The general plan is similar to that in England. The so-called Schultze-Delitsch banks and Raiffeisen or credit societies have been extensively developed. During the war, although various enterprises for cooperative factories had to be abandoned, the membership and trade of societies more than doubled. The consumers' societies have over two million members, and the banking, agricultural and producers' associations as many more.

Russia since the revolution has developed the largest cooperative movement in the world. The cooperatives, which had been hampered under the Czar's government, received an important part in the (Kerensky) government, holding several prominent positions in the administration of commerce and production. The local associations increased from fewer than 20,000 in 1905 to 50,000 in 1918, with 20,000,000 members. The cooperative movement has distributed during the last years a large percentage of the food in Russia, opened a university, conducted banks, and become a very important factor in agriculture, especially in Siberia. The Bolsheviki have nationalized the cooperatives.

Italy, Switzerland and Austria have also strong cooperative movements. Ireland's cooperation is mainly agricultural, and has been of great help to the peasants.

The international cooperative organization has developed plans for interchange of commodities between the various countries. It organized relief work during the war, when its strength was shown by German soldiers' recognition and protection of cooperative stores in the occupied portions of France.

In the United States the cooperative movement has made great progress during the last few years. It is however still weak and sporadic.

Holyoake's "History of Cooperation" is a thoroughly comprehensive work, though not of recent publication. Very useful is Beatrice Potter's "Cooperative movement in Great Britain." Woolf's "Cooperation and the Future of Industry" shows the relation of cooperation to the general labor movement. Harris's "Cooperation, the Hope of the Consumer," and Sonnichsen's "Consumers' Cooperation," interpret the movement from the cooperative but critical viewpoint. Also the Webbs' study in the New Statesman, Supplement of May 1914, gives a digest of the international cooperative movement.

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PROPOSED EXPERIMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Under this heading are included Copartnerships, National Industrial Councils (notably the so-called Whitley councils of Great Britain and joint councils like that of the printing industry in the United States), and the Plumb Plan. These are industrial experiments which afford the workers some participation in the control of conditions and of their employment. None of the plans, with the exception of the Builders' plan, eliminate private profit, though each tends to reduce it by increasing the workers' "voice in the management."

COPARTNERSHIP

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COPARTNERSHIP

Lord Leverhulme, who has been described as the man who has done more than anyone else for the introduction of copartnership, defines this scheme as "a means of better, fairer and more just relationship of so-called employer and employee resulting in better productive activities." Under such an arrangement "an employee-worker receives each year an allotment of copartnership certificates in proportion to the amount of his salary or wages and the length and value of his services, and which copartnership certificates are, during the copartner's connection with the firm, entitled to dividends in proportion to the dividends paid to the ordinary shareholders. The copartner would see the number of copartnership certificates growing each year. He would experience the fact and realize the cause why dividends in some years were higher than others, and why in some years from unavoidable causes dividends might fail to be earned or to be paid. He would realize the direct connection between profits and all the problems that the management has to solve in a business, and in this way the employer-capitalist would have secured a partner whose brain would be at work as well as his hands in effecting economies and avoiding waste in the business, and in making suggestions for the improvement of processes and the improvement in the organization of the time of himself and comrades, so that profits might be increased and higher dividends be paid. . . Under a system of copartnership the employer-capitalist would have his employee-workers who had been with him a certain number of years as copartners, now realizing that their interest in the business equally with that of the employer-capitalist ran along the lines of increased output and of cheaper costs of production, and there would come what I may call 'team work'."[1]

Besides Lord Leverhulme's book just quoted, the reader is especially referred to the publications of the Labour Co-Partnership Association in London, to Aneurin Williams' "Co-partnership and Profit-sharing," and to A. Trombert's "Profit-sharing."

[1] Lord Leverhulme. The Six Hour Day. 1919. p. 305-6.

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NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

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NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

By National Industrial Council is understood a joint standing body equally representative of the nationally organized employers and the nationally organized workers of an industry. The term originated in England and was applied to bodies so constituted in a number of English industries.

In March, 1917, a sub-committee of the Reconstruction Committee, later the Reconstruction Ministry, presented to the War Cabinet of Great Britain, its First (Interim) Report on Joint Standing Industrial Councils, since then known as the Whitley Report. The committee recommended "the establishment for each industry of an organization representative of employers and work people, to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of all those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the Community."

For the carrying out of the above policy the Report continues, "we recommend that His Majesty's Government should propose without delay to the various associations of employers and employed the formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils in the several industries, where they do not already exist, composed of representatives of employers and employed, regard being paid to the various sections of the industry and the various classes of labor engaged.

"It is not enough to secure cooperation at the center between the national organizations; it is equally necessary to enlist the activity and support of employers and employed in the districts and in individual establishments. The National Industrial Council should not be regarded as complete in itself; what is needed is a triple organization—in the workshops, the districts and nationally."

The report did not lay down any very definite lines for the operation of these councils, but suggested, as questions with which they might deal, the settlement of conditions of employment and of the methods of fixing, paying and readjusting wages; the establishment of regular methods of negotiation; means of assuring security of earnings and employment;

technical education and industrial research; utilization of inventions and improvement of processes; and proposed legislation affecting the industry.

The proposals as outlined in this report had been suggested in the main as early as 1916 by Mr. Malcolm Sparkes, in his "Builders' National Industrial Parliament" and by the Garton Foundation report on "The Industrial Situation After the War."

The report submitted during 1919 to the Industrial Council for the Building Industry, better known as the Building Trades Parliament, dealing with scientific management and reduction of costs, presents an important document on industrial reconstruction. The scheme as outlined in this report "was to eliminate altogether speculative profit.... It would leave intact interest on actual capital; but it would transform the employer into a salaried manager, working under the orders of the industry as a whole. It would guarantee the workers against unemployment and ensure them through their trade unions a real share in the control of the industry."[1]

At the present time (1920) there are in Great Britain fifty-one industries and undertakings in which joint Industrial Councils have been introduced. The total number of work people engaged in those industries is estimated at about 3,300,000.[2]

In the United States by 1920 the Council idea had received serious consideration in at least six industries, but actual organization was only consummated in the printing trades and the electrical construction industry. In the building and construction industry as a whole a National Congress is in process of organization which in a general way follows the council model.

The preamble of the Joint Industrial Council for the printing trades indicates that the Council is established with a view to "promote the spirit of cooperation and to deal with problems of the industry in a way to insure the protection of the interests of all concerned." The Council is to be thoroughly informed as to conditions and interests of all parties in the industry and to be in a position to suggest for ratification, regulations which shall eventually become the law of the industry. The Council is to be composed of sixteen members; eight chosen by the several employers' associations and eight chosen by the first international unions which are party to it.

[1] Garton Foundation: The Industrial Council for the Building Industry. 1919. p. 152.
[2] Labour Gazette of Great Britain. v. 27. p. 515. Dec. 1919.

The Webbs in their revised History of Trade Unionism summarize the Whitley councils as follows: "after two years' propagandist effort, it seems (1920) as if the principal industries, such as agriculture, transport, mining, cotton, engineering, or ship-building, are unlikely to adopt the scheme. . . The Government found itself constrained, after an obstinate resistance by the heads of nearly all the departments, to institute the Councils throughout the public service. We venture on the prediction that some such scheme will commend itself in all nationalized or municipalized industries and services, including such as may be effectively 'controlled' by the Government, though remaining nominally the property of the private Capitalist—possibly also in the Cooperative movement; but that it is not likely to find favor either in the well organized industries (for which alone it was devised) or in those in which there are Trade Boards legally determining wages, etc, or, indeed, permanently in any others conducted under the system of capitalist profit-making." [1]

The literature on industrial councils consists mostly of documents and magazine articles. The Whitley reports have been reprinted in this country by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and by the Bureau of Industrial Research in the pamphlet, "The Industrial Council Plan in Great Britain," which contains all earlier documents in connection with the Council movement. A very valuable addition to the Joint Industrial Councils literature is "The Industrial Council for the Building Industry," published by the Garton Foundation, of England. The National Guilds League of Great Britain has issued a criticism on the industrial council plan as a reply to the assertion that national industrial councils were an application of the principles of guild socialism.

[1] Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. History of Trade Unionism. 1920. p. 647.

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THE PLUMB PLAN

Early in 1919 the former railroad corporation lawyer, and present attorney for the Railroad Brotherhoods Glenn E. Plumb, formulated a plan, endorsed by the Railroad Brotherhoods and later introduced in the form of a bill in Congress, to the effect that railway employees *shall share in the management* of the railroads in the United States.

Briefly stated, the system would be administered by a board of fifteen directors; one-third of whom would be appointed by the President of the United States, with the approval of the Senate; one-third elected by the officers of the Corporation, and one-third by the operating force. The Board of Directors, the officers, and the employees would administer such matters as rates, subject to the direction of the Inter-State Commerce Commission; salaries and wages; working conditions; rolling stock, etc. They would constitute the National Railway Operating Corporation which would lease from the Government all the railway lines and properties after they are nationalized, for a period of one hundred years unless sooner terminated by act of Congress.

On January 1, 1920, Mr Plumb sent out to the press an industrial program extending the main parts of his plan to the industry of the country. For this purpose Mr. Plumb classifies industry under four divisions: first, those industries which are individualistic in ownership and organization; second, all those industries formerly individualistic but now so developed that ownership, separated from labor, concerns itself only in direction and supervision of production, in which it engages the efforts of others who have no share in ownership; third, those industries which are based upon a grant from society in the shape of a franchise, grant of privilege, or monopoly. The last named include all public service corporations except interstate commercial transportation, and all other industries engaged in exploiting natural resources. The fourth division includes only railroads and commercial transportation facilities.

The public interest is expressed as its right "to obtain better,

cheaper and more products or service as the progress of the arts permits the making of more and better goods or service at a lower cost of production." To the owners of capital such terms must be offered as will induce them to invest. Labor is to be entitled to receive an equivalent amount in payment for the value of services rendered.

The political program is outlined as follows: for the railroads and all means of transportation, the principles of the Plumb Plan, with such modifications of details as may be needed to carry out its general principles. Second, as to all industries based upon grants, privileges, exploitation of natural resources and the enjoyment of monopoly, the adoption of the necessary legislative policy through local enactments either to acquire public ownership of such utilities with the extension of the principles of the Plumb Plan to the control and operation, or the adoption for their control of a tri-partite representation of the public, private capital, and labor. Third, as to all industries engaged in production not based on grants of privileges or monopolies, the adoption of legislation either local or national, requiring all corporations organized for the conduct of such industries to recognize the right of labor to take part in the control and management of the industry, and to share in the profits of such industry on terms of equality with capital. The individualist industries shall be left entirely to the individuals owning and operating them.

Literature on the subject can be obtained from the headquarters of The Plumb Plan League, Machinist Building, Washington, D.C.

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THE SINGLE TAX

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THE SINGLE TAX

Henry George developed a scheme of economic reform known as the "Single tax," in which he proposed that all taxes should be levied upon land values. His argument was based on the presumptive tendency of land to absorb all the value due to "improvement in the productive power of labor." Among these improvements he included "the growth of population, the increase and extension of exchanges, the march of invention, the spread of education, the improvement of government," etc. "Land being necessary to labor and being reduced to private ownership every increase in the productive power of labor but increases rent,—the price that labor must pay for the opportunity to utilize its powers, and thus all the advantages gained by the march of progress go to the owner of the land and wages do not increase."

Henry George defined the single tax in his organ "The Standard" as follows:

"The Standard advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term 'land'.

"We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry. We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to utilize them by employment of labor or abandonment to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work to all men and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away."[1]

[1] Quoted from Ely's Outlines of Economics. 1917. p. 679-80.

Apart from the works of Henry George, especially his "Progress and Poverty," as a general description Young's "Single Tax Movement in the United States," is to be recommended.

Professor Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard University is now president of the National Single Tax League.

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SOCIALISM

Socialism, in so far as it has definable unity, is the social movement which seeks a system of organized industrial and political government, in which use instead of profit shall be the dominant motive of production and its control shall be democratic. Public ownership of the "socially necessary means of production" is advocated in order to emancipate production from private profit.

There exist wide divergences of theory and program, even among socialists, the more radical upholding the idea of a definite act of "revolution" as a necessary prelude to social reorganization, and the so-called reformists expecting a gradual progress through a process of education.

The Socialist idea can be traced back to Baboeuf, Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen. The modern movement originating with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels began with the publication of their Communist Manifesto in 1848. In 1867 Marx finished the first volume of "Das Kapital," which became the basis of modern socialism. His main theories are, first, the materialistic interpretation of history; second, the theory of surplus value; third, the law of concentration of capital; and fourth, the principle of the class struggle.

A reaction within the movement against these strict Marxian theories set in about the middle nineties and gained ground even in Germany, the home of orthodox Socialism. Eduard Bernstein's book, "Evolutionary Socialism" (Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Social-Demokratie) led the attack against the rigid orthodoxy which had grown up in the Marxian movement.

A similar school of revision, independent of the continental writers, had been developed somewhat earlier by the Fabians in Great Britain. Among the many societies for social reform which came into existence in the years from 1870 to 1890 none has exercised so marked and beneficial an influence on educated public opinion and on legislation as the Fabian society. "The Society adopted the name Fabian after Fabius Cunctator, the

Roman general." This reformistic tendency was reflected in the movement itself. Political successes forced Socialists in practically every country to devote their attention to immediate reforms and collectivist measures, and gradually to forget to apply Marxian principles in the interpretation of every event.

As these compromises were introduced, tending toward State Socialism, the employing class adopted a paternalistic attitude toward the workers, and the state gradually assumed more and more control of public utilities and industries. Germany and New Zealand especially took steps in this direction, while the Great War developed the same tendency in the United States, Great Britain, and other countries.

Strict State Socialism is regarded by many socialists as "State Capitalism"—an attempt to placate the workers by improving their material condition and transferring the control of wealth from individual capitalists to a state in turn controlled by them; the workers remaining as dependent industrially as ever. But the major part of the Socialist Movement is opposed to any representation of their aims as compatible with State Socialism.

Scientific Socialism should be studied in the Communist Manifesto, Capital (or its summary, Marx's "Value, Price, and Profit"), Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific", and Karl Kautsky's "Class Struggle." A general description of the Socialist movements is to be found in Kirkup's "History of Socialism" and Harry W. Laidler's "Socialism in Thought and Action." "Socialism of Today," by English Walling and others, is a source-book containing descriptions of the progress of the movement throughout the world. Emile Vandervelde's "Socialism versus the State" is a warning against collectivism; and a fair review of the entire subject by a non-socialist is O. D. Skelton's "Socialism, a Critical Analysis." Bertrand Russell defines and clearly differentiates Socialism from Anarchism and Syndicalism in his "Proposed Roads to Freedom."

In the following summaries of the progress of Socialism in various countries, such labor parties as are socialistic in tendency have been included.

"The International"

Attempts to form an international organization of workers were first made by a group of exiles living in London during the period of 1840-1848. The organization was known as the

"League of Just," and in 1847 it became the "Communist League." It remained for many years a secret organization and was composed mostly of Germans. At a congress held in London in 1847 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were requested to prepare "a complete theoretical and working program" for the League. This they did, resulting in the "Communist Manifesto" published in 1848. The League lasted only a few years and passed out of existence in 1852 because of governmental repression.

In 1862 a deputation of French working men visited the International Exhibition in London, and out of the meetings of the French and English labor leaders grew the "International Association of Workingmen."

In 1864 at a public meeting held in London a committee of representatives of different nations was appointed to draft a constitution and program for an association. A General Council with offices in London was elected. The General Council was composed of representatives of the national bodies of the different countries.

Conferences of the Association were held in Geneva, 1866, Lausanne in 1867, in Brussels in 1868, (98 delegates present), in Basel in 1869, the Hague 1872. The Association had to struggle against severe government persecution. Conflicts within the organization itself arose between Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin, representing respectively the socialist and the anarchist points of view. In 1872 the General Council removed its seat to New York. Its influence diminished and in the same year it ceased to function. In 1889 on the occasion of the Centenary of the French Revolution, an international socialist congress was held in Paris. This marks the beginning of the Second International. In reality two congresses were held. That of the orthodox Marxists was attended by 395 delegates, and that of the Reform Socialists by about 600. Other congresses were held at Brussels in 1891, Zurich in 1893, London, 1896, and Paris in 1900.

The Paris conference decided upon a form of organization with an international bureau, known since then as the International Socialist Bureau. Affiliations with the Bureau and consequently representation in the congresses were open to;

1. All associations which adhered to the essential principles of Socialism; socialization of means of production and distribution; international association of and action by

the workers; conquest of public powers by the proletariat organized as a class party.

2. All constituted organizations which accept the principle of a class struggle and recognize the necessity for political action (legislative and parliamentary), but do not participate directly in the political movement.[1]

The last condition was adopted for the purpose of excluding anarchist and of admitting trade unionist and other labor organizations which, though not political in character, favored political action.

The International Bureau was made up of delegates from socialist organizations of the countries affiliated with the International. Every three years an international socialist congress took place and resolutions were adopted. These, however, were merely advisory and not binding upon the national socialist parties. The International did not prescribe the tactics which the movement of any country should adopt. This was left to the discretion of each national organization.

Under the auspices of this Bureau, the following congresses were held: Amsterdam, 1904, Stuttgart, 1907, Copenhagen, 1910, and an extraordinary congress at Basel on the occasion of the Balkan wars in 1912. The congress which was to have been held in Vienna in 1914 was prevented by the Great War, which practically destroyed the Second International as an organized body. The Bureau removed from Brussels to the Hague when the war broke out, continued to maintain relations with the Socialist parties of all countries during the war and tried to co-ordinate their action. Various attempts were made for the revival of the Second International but up to March 1921 they were without success.

The first conference after the outbreak of the Great War to be attended by Allied and Central-Power socialists was known as the Zimmerwald Conference and was held in Switzerland in September, 1915. Those who were present at the conference belonged to the Left Wing of the Socialist movement and their aim was to find a common program in behalf of peace. Other gatherings took place in Kienthal in 1916, in Stockholm in 1917, and in London in the spring of 1918, an Inter-allied Socialist and Labor Conference.

After the Armistice the socialists met in two different reunions

[1]Labour Year Book of Great Britain. 1916.

—Berne, February, 1919, and Lucerne, August 1919,—and decided to hold a conference in 1920 to revive the Second International.

The present split in the Socialist movement may be said to be due to the attitude taken toward Bolshevism by the different factions. The Conference of August, 1920, declared for the revival of the Second International and opposed the Third International created by the Bolsheviks. But the revival of the Second International remains a pious wish.

The Third International so-called by the Russian Communists, was organized at a congress held in Moscow in March, 1919, thirty-two foreign delegates participating, and representing twelve different countries. A manifesto was adopted "repudiating the vacillation, mendacity and superficiality of the socialist parties" and appealing to workers in all countries to fight "against imperialist barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois states, and bourgeois property, against all kinds and forms of social and national oppression." The manifesto further declared:

> Even though the first International foresaw the coming development and inserted a wedge, and though the second International collected and organized millions of proletarians, still it is the third International that stands for the open action of the masses and for revolutionary operations. [1]

The terms of the affiliation are embodied in 21 points.

The situation in 1921 presented itself as follows: The second International was dead. The Third was Communist functioning through a dictatorship. Socialists were divided between Lenin and Webb.

Progress of the Movement in Various Countries

Australia and New Zealand

The beginnings of the labor movement in Australia can be traced to the great strikes of shearers and seamen in 1890. It was then that the trade unions awoke to the fact that labor representation in the various parliaments was just as necessary as strong industrial organizations. Political labor bodies were formed in each state, with which any trade union might affiliate itself. The result was the formation of the Labour Party in Australia in 1892.

This party, while not definitely committed to theoretical Socialism, tends toward socialist doctrines and advocates the regulation of industry by the state. During the war the Labour

[1] American Labor Year Book 1919-20. p. 320.

Party split. The supporters of conscription, led by Prime Minister Hughes, formed a National Labour Party. The original party was rechristened the Australian Labour Party. Its representatives in Parliament in 1919 numbered 26 out of 75 deputies and one seat in the Senate.

An attempt at fusion only began during 1919-1920 with the formation of an Australian Socialist Party on a Marxian basis. At the end of 1920 the Australian Communist Party was founded, which is affiliated with the Third International. The only other party of importance is the Socialist Labour Party.

There are also a host of small Socialist societies in the various capitals and the big mining centres.

In 1916, at a joint conference of the Social Democratic Party the Labour Representation Committees and the United Federation of Labour, a unified Labour Party, with a definitely socialist objective was established in New Zealand. At the 1919 elections the Labour Party secured eight seats.

Austria

The socialist labor movement began to make itself felt in Austria in the early eighteen-seventies, but it could not elect a representative to the Austrian Parliament until 1901. The people succeeded in democratizing the suffrage to some extent, in 1907, but this did not appreciably improve economic conditions. Differences of nationality and language formed an obstacle to effective organization.

Although the Socialists supported the war which was opposed within their ranks by only a small minority, the government during that period employed rigid methods of suppression and persecution against party press and leaders. Conditions were somewhat improved after the death of Emperor Francis Joseph, but not eough to avert the revolution which in October, 1918, destroyed a monarchy six hundred years old, and formed a number of independent national states. Austria today comprises only the old German Austria.

In 1907 the social democrats polled 1,041,948 votes and elected 87 representatives. In 1911, with a slightly increased vote, the representation fell to 83 in an assembly of 516. In October, 1920, the latest election in Austria, the socialists elected 66 representatives to an assembly of 175. Although this was a slight

decrease from the 1919 elections, it is the second largest representation of any single party in the Constituent Assembly.

On November 28th, 1920 the Left wing socialists, of the Social Democratic Party decided to found a Socialist Labor Party of German-Austria.

The Austrian Communist Party is weak numerically and did not take part in the elections held in 1920.

Belgium

The Belgian Labor Party (Parti Ouvrier) organized in 1885, achieved its first parliamentary success in 1894 when 24 Socialists won seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Émile Vandervelde, its leader, has maintained that it unites the characteristics of the three great nations surrounding it. From England it adopted cooperation and self-help, from Germany political tactics and fundamental doctrines, from France its idealistic tendencies. The close cooperation which exists between the Labor Party, trade unions and the cooperative movement makes the Labor Party a federation of federations of those organisations.

Its economic viewpoint is reformist Marxian, and opposed to ultra-revolutionary measures. Its immediate program includes free secular education, religious freedom, abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic, abolition of the Senate, the eight-hour day, repeal of all laws against strikes.

The Labor Party includes:—

I. Cooperative societies (which provide the financial strength of the party)
II. Trade Unions (which work hand in hand with the party)
III. Mutual aid societies
IV. Political organizations
V. Educational and social clubs

In the November, 1919, election the party seated 70 representatives out of a total of 186, and polled 644,499 votes, 37 per cent of the total. Socialists were chosen for the offices of President of the Chamber, Vice-President of the Senate, and four Cabinet seats. The Socialists' municipal representation totaled 850 before the Great War.

There also is a feeble Communist Party.

Canada

The main labor and socialist political organizations in Canada are:

I. The Socialist Party of Canada
II. The Social Democratic Party
III. The Labour Party

The Socialist Party in Canada dates from about 1890, and the Social Democratic Party from January, 1911. In 1920 these parties were without representation in the Dominion Parliament and had only succeeded in electing a few representatives to the Provincial legislatures.

A movement for the creation of a labor party was set on foot in 1917, and at a convention called in July, by labor leaders of the province of Ontario, the Independent Labour Party was organized. This party's first platform included declarations in favor of free text books in the schools; public ownership of all sources of wealth; the nationalization of banking and credit systems; initiative, referendum, and recall; old age pensions, and pensions for mothers with dependent children: and the abolition of the judicial power to declare legislation of the Dominion parliament unconstitutional.

This organization was formally approved by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, held in September, 1917. A national Canadian Labour Party has not as yet been formed, although steps are being taken toward its formation.

Denmark, Norway and Sweden

The socialist organizations in Denmark are the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Party. The former was founded in 1878 and represents reformist socialism. In the election of 1919 it seated 36 deputies out of a total of 137. The Socialist Party, which endorses the communist program, has little influence in the political field. The Danish General Labor Federation maintains friendly relations with both parties.

In 1881 the social democrats of Norway organized a party, out of which was formed in 1897 the Norwegian Labor Party (Norak Arbeider-parti). In 1891 the party adopted a straight Socialist platform. In March, 1918, it adopted a more revolutionary platform endorsing the creation of a workers' and soldiers' council. and the use of "revolutionary mass action in

the struggle for the economic freedom of the working class." At the elections in October, 1918, it polled over 300,000 votes, and elected 18 deputies out of 101.

The Socialist groups in Sweden are the Social Democratic Labor Party, and the Left Socialists. The Social Democratic Labor Party was founded in 1889 and is collectivist in theory, accepting parliamentarism. It is the strongest Socialist organization in the country, and in the election of 1920 won 76 seats out of a total of 230 in the second Chamber, polling 228,000 votes.

The Left Socialists, founded in 1917, have endorsed communism. At the 1920 election this organization polled 15,000 votes and elected 7 representatives.

The labor union movement in all the Scandinavian countries cooperates with the socialist parties.

France

While Socialism in France dates back to the French revolution, the socialist movement has for many years been weakened by internal struggles between the different schools of theory.

There were the followers of Louis Blanc who advocated state-aided production by associations of producers, those of Jules Guesde, standing for pure Marxian socialism, of Millerand for extremely moderate socialism, of Jean Jaurès for reformist socialism, etc.

The different socialist groups united in 1905 to form the extremely modern Parti Socialiste Unifié, which advocated socialization of the means of production and distribution, the attainment of political power by the workers, and transformation of capitalism into a collectivist society.

In the November, 1919 elections, although the party polled 1,700,000 votes, 24 per cent of the total, and an increase of 8 per cent since 1914, the representation fell from 105 to 55, out of a total 602, due to the operation of new election laws.

Since the Russian Bolshevik Revolution the French Socialist Party has been standing for uncompromising tactics. At the national congress held at Tours, Dec. 25, 1920, the party split on the question of the Third International. The congress was divided by three factions: the Right wing opposing the conditions of the Third International; the Center requesting admission with maximum reserves; and the Left favoring

admission according to the conditions imposed by the Third Internationale. The victory of the Communists resulted in the withdrawal of the Center and the Right wing and the formation by them of the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière. The original party contains about 60 to 70 per cent of the party members, and is called Section Française de l'Internationale Communiste. Of the original 55 deputies, fifteen stayed with the party, the rest went with the new organisation.

GERMANY

The social philosophy of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, later accepted by the international socialist movement, was the direct heritage of the German socialists. It was Lassalle, however, who taught the German workers to organize independently into a political party.

The modern socialist movement in Germany dates back to 1863 when the General German Workingmen's association was founded by Ferdinand Lasalle. In 1869 the adherents of Marxian socialism assembled at Eisenach and formed the Social Democratic Labor Party. These two organizations united in 1875. In 1878 an anti-socialist law was passed at the insistence of Bismarck, then Prime Minister, declaring the socialist party an illegal organization. This law was repealed in 1890 and the party was reorganized immediately at Halle. The Erfurt program, famous as the first of the programs of practical and theoretical Marxian Socialism, was adopted by the congress of the following year.

At the outbreak of the Great War, the Social Democratic Party had become the largest party in Germany. Its membership throughout the Empire on March 31, 1914 was 1,085,905, including 174,754 women. Four and a quarter million votes, that is, over half of the total vote, was cast at the Reichstag election of 1912 for the party. Out of 397 members of the Reichstag, the Social-Democratic group numbered 111 members.

The great weapon of the German social democracy was the powerful press it had at its disposal. It had over 120 newspapers and a great many periodicals. No other socialist party was its equal in this field. In cooperation with the trade unions 364 branch education committees have been established under the direction of a central education committee. The party maintained a socialist college in Berlin.

Up to 1914 most cordial relationship existed between the

trade unions and the party. In fact, the trade unions helped the party materially and morally.

The party split, over the war issue, into three main groups:— the Social Democratic Party, endorsing the war; the Independent Socialist Party opposing the war; the Spartacus group opposing the war and endorsing communist principles. Until December, 1918, the majority of the Spartacus group also belonged to the Independent Socialist Party. After this date they organized into the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany.

At their annual convention at Halle in October 1920, a split occurred within the ranks of the Independent Socialists over the issue of joining the Third International. By a vote of 237 to 156 the congress decided to join the Third International. The 156 delegates were in favor of joining the Third International with a maximum of reservations.

The three main parties in 1921 were:

I. The Social Democratic Party
II. The Independent Socialist Party
III. The United Communist Party of Germany; section of the Third International

I. The Social Democratic Party, composed of the pre-war socialists adheres to the Second International and has adopted a moderate parliamentarian program of action. The following main points of their election program was published in the "Vorwärts" of April 4th, 1920.

The aim of social democracy is socialism, not to be won by violence or dictatorship, but by democracy and the will of the people. It aims at bringing wages and salaries into line with the cost of living. Disabled men and war widows and orphans must be adequately provided for.

The increased importance of the worker in industry already gained by the Works Councils Law will be further developed by socialization.

All transport is to be directed by the State.

The Land Settlement Act is to protect small farmers against large landowners, and to create hundreds of thousands of new small agricultural undertakings.

In 1921 the Social Democratic Party had 108 representatives in the Reichstag out of a total of 469 deputies.

II. The Independent Socialist Party is the "center" of the socialist movement in Germany. Its policies were expressed in their election program of 1920 as follows:—

Independent Social Democracy aims at the taking over of political power by the proletariat, in order to overthrow capitalism and bring about a socialistic order of society. This aim cannot be attained except through the political supremacy of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the meaning of the Soviet system. It represents a transitional stage from capitalism to socialism.

In 1921 the Independent Social Democratic Party had 61 representatives in the Reichstag.

III. The United Communist Party of Germany was originally the Spartacus group. In Dec. 1918 it reorganized in the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany and in 1920 after the Independents split and joined the Communist, became the U. C. P. of G. They believe that

The conditions for the triumph of the International Proletariat are:
(1) The adoption by all parties of the clear, unequivocal theory of revolutionary Marxism;
(2) An organization rigidly maintained on lines of military discipline;
(3) Untiring activity in all spheres of action open to the proletariat.

In 1921 they had 26 representatives in the Reichstag.

Great Britain

The labor movement of Great Britain is expressed primarily today in the trade unions, the Labour Party, and the Cooperative movement. Up to 1824 any combination of workmen for industrial purposes was illegal. As soon as restrictive statutes were repealed trade unions arose and in the course of the next fifty years gained sufficient support to make possible the passage in 1871-1878, of two important acts which legalized their status.

In 1900-1901, labor received a severe blow in the Taff-Vale decision. This provided "that the Trade Union, though admittedly not a corporate body, could be sued in a corporate capacity for damages alleged to have been caused by the action of its officers, and that an injunction could be issued against it restraining it and all its officers, not merely from dismissal acts, but also from unlawfully, though without the slightest criminality, causing loss to other persons. Moreover, in their elaborate reasons for their judgment, the Law Lords expressed the view that not only an injunction but also a mandamus could be issued against a Trade Union, requiring it to do anything that any person lawfully called upon it to do; that a registered Trade Union could be sued in its registered name, just as if it were a corporation; that even an unregistered Trade Union could be made collectively liable for damages, and might be sued in the names of its proper officers; the members of its executive committees and its trustees; and that the damages and costs could be recovered from the property of the Trade Union, whether this was in the hands of separate trustees or not."[1]

[1]Webb, Sidney, and Beatrice. "The History of Trade Unionism." 1920. p. 600-1.

As a result of thirty years of Liberal-Labour-left agitation a labour representation committee was formed which developed later into the Labour Party. The Labour Group became politically effective in securing the repeal of the Taff-Vale decision and the passage of legislation favorable to its aims.

The main labor and socialist organizations of Great Britain are as follows (the cooperative movement is discussed elsewhere):

I. The Labour Party
II. The Independent Labour Party
III. The Socialist Labour Party
IV. The Communist Party of Great Britain
V. The Socialist Party of Great Britain
VI. The National Socialist Party
VII. The Fabian Society
VIII. The Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations
IX. The Joint Board

I. The British Labour Party dates from 1899 and is composed of trade unions, and trades councils, of socialist, cooperative, and other working class societies, and of individuals. The Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society belong to the Labour Party. Although the Labour Party is not directly committed to Socialism, it advocates Socialist principles. The support which it receives from the trade union is its great source of strength. In 1917 the party was reorganized to include as members all producers "by hand or brain"; and its membership now consists of "national societies" and "parliamentary constituencies." This makes possible the enrollment of individuals who subscribe to the platform and reside or work within a constituency. The membership of the party has grown from 375,931 in 1900 to very nearly four million by 1921. Its representation in Parliament in January, 1921, was 67 members out of a total of 707.

II. The Independent Labour Party was founded in 1893 by Keir Hardie. It is more uncompromisingly socialistic in aim than the Labour Party and advocates collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and independent labor representation on all legislative and administrative bodies. It had in 1920 a membership of about 50,000.

III. The Socialist Labour Party is the extreme left wing of Marxian Socialism in Great Britain. It advocates industrial

unionism and revolutionary political action, and refuses to affiliate with the British Labour Party. It is numerically a handful.

IV. The Communist Party of Great Britain originated in August 1920. It grew out of the socialist group which was founded in 1881 by H. M. Hyndman. Its membership is not very large.

V. The Socialist Party of Great Britain was formed by secessionists from the old Social Democratic Party in 1904. It emphasizes political action and an uncompromising interpretation of Marx, and opposes all other political parties. Its membership is of negligible size.

VI. The National Socialist Party is composed of the minority of the British Socialist Party, which seceded in 1916 under the leadership of H. M. Hyndman, because of the party's opposition to the war.

VII. The Fabian Society, founded in 1883-1884 by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, and others, has had an important influence on the socialist movement in interpreting socialist principles in terms of actual working methods. Its function is mainly that of progaganda and research, the publication of special pamphlets and essays and the organization of lectures. A portion of its work has now been taken over by the Labour Research Department.

VIII. The Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations, organized in 1916, includes as members the Women's Trade Union League, the Women's Cooperative Guild, and the Women's Labour League, the National Federation of Women Workers and the Railway Women's Guild. The Women's Labour League, which sponsored the constitution of the Joint Committee, is organized for the purpose of obtaining direct labor representation in connection with the Labour Party, direct representation of women in Parliament and on local bodies, and economic equality of the sexes.

IX. The Joint Board is composed of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party. It was founded in 1906 and reorganized in 1908. Its objects are, first, to secure united action by all labor organizations on matters of common interest; second, to act as a judicial body to determine the

bona fide character of any trade union organization which is a member or prospective member of any constituent organization; and third, to act as a court of arbitration between unions in cases of disputes.

Italy

The modern Socialist movement in Italy first came into existence under the influence of Bakunin. In 1869 he opened the first branch of the International in Naples. The organization had only a short life, and in 1880 was superseded by the Labor Party. In 1890 this party endorsed the principles of Marxian Socialism.

The main socialist groups of Italy are as follows:

I. The Italian Socialist Party.

II. The Reformist Socialist Party.

III. The Communist Party of Italy; Section of the Third Internationale.

I. The Italian Socialist Party is the strongest socialist organization in the country and represents the extreme left of the movement. This party is opposed to participation in the government and favors, with reservations, the Third International. In 1921 it was represented in the Chamber of Deputies by 156 members out of a total of 508, the largest representation of any single party in Italy.

At the congress of Livorno, January 1921, a split occurred over the issue of accepting unreservedly the conditions of the Third International. The congress was confronted by three resolutions: that of the majority endorsing the Third International with certain reservations; that of the Communists; and that of the Right wing favoring the Third International with maximum reservations. The vote was as follows: 98,029 for the first; 58,790 for the second; 14,212 for the third. The Communist seceded and formed the Communist Party of Italy.

II. The Reformist Socialist Party was formed in 1912 by the moderate socialists, led by Bissolati, who were expelled from the Italian Socialist Party because of alleged infidelity to the principles of the class struggle, and for their support of the Tripolitan war. It elected 16 representatives to the Chamber of Deputies in 1919 elections.

The Netherlands

The main socialist organizations of Holland are as follows:

I. The Social Democratic Labor Party.
II. The Communist Party of the Netherlands; section of the Third International.
III. The Federation of Christian Socialists.

I. The Social Democratic Labor Party was founded in 1894 when a majority of the old Social Democratic Federation voted to discontinue political activity and to concentrate on revolutionary mass action. Those opposed to this policy undertook to form a new party under the name of the Social Democratic Labor Party as a means of counteracting the ultra-radical tendencies in the federation and of furnishing an organization for political action for the more moderate socialists. This party has grown steadily and is today the strongest labor party in the country. It has stated its aims as follows: "To forward the socialization of industries and nationalization of the land. If the present organization of the State cannot do all this, then revolutionize the State." Its specific demands have been formulated at a labor congress held under the joint auspices of the Social Democratic Labor Party and the Dutch Federation of Trades Unions, in November, 1918. These two organizations are so intimately affiliated as to be almost identical. At the election in July, 1918, the party elected 22 members to the second chamber, polling 296,145 votes, 22.3 per cent of the total vote.

II. The Communist Party of the Netherlands was originally the Social Democratic Party organized in 1918. In the 1918 election it showed its strength for the first time, casting 31,023 votes and electing two representatives.

III. The Federation of Christian Socialists is a sect of Socialist pacifists and Tolstoian anti-militarists. It elected one representative in 1918 and polled 8,423 votes.

Russia

The Socialist movement in Russia began in the eighteen forties and continued for a time as an intellectual movement of students with a few working class followers. As it became more influential, the government began to persecute its exponents, who in turn adopted terrorist tactics. In the latter part

of the century, the development of industrialism in its most intense form stimulated class consciousness among the workers and led to many strikes, culminating in the general strike of 1905. When the strike failed the people resorted to mass demonstrations.

After this unsuccessful revolution, the Socialists adopted parliamentary tactics, and although their parties were declared illegal and forced to establish headquarters outside the country, it was found possible to elect candidates to the Duma in 1907 on other tickets. The Socialists were so strong that given universal suffrage they would have had considerable influence on the political life of the country.

At the outbreak of the great war, Russian Socialists suffered from secessions of pro-war members. Prior to 1917 the main socialist and labor parties of Russia were:

I. The Social Revolutionary Party.
II. The Social Democratic Labor Party.
III. The Group of Toil (Labor Party).
IV. The Bund. (Jewish Labor Federation of Russia, Poland and Lithuania.)

I. The Social Revolutionary Party organized about 1897 temporarily employed terrorist methods. The Party was in effect a revival of the Norodnaya Volya (Peoples Will Pary) of the seventies and early eighties. The Kerensky pro-war faction split from this party, leaving a moderate and a radical anti-war group.

II. The Social Democratic Labor Party, pure Marxists, was the most important Socialist organization. At first it was called League for the Emancipation of Labor and was organized abroad in 1884. Under its influence chiefly the beginnings of a trade union movement were made in Russia in the early and middle nineties. In 1898 the party was reorganized, with a definite declaration of its political as well as economic aims. It was divided into Bolsheviki, or majority adherents, and Mensheviki, the minority. The division of the S. D. L. P. into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks became clear in 1903.

III. The Group of Toil organized in 1905-1906 was a peasant party with a considerable following on account of its

adoption of certain principles akin to ancient Russian communism.

IV. The Bund was the organization of Jewish socialists. It was originated and maintained close relations with the S. D. L. P.

Spain

The Socialist Labor Party and the General Labor Association are the only important Socialist organizations in Spain. In 1910 the former entered a coalition with the Republicans, and Pablo Iglesias, the leader of the Socialists, was elected to office in Madrid. His policies did not accord with party tradition, and the Socialists failed to support him when he advocated Spain's participation in the Great War. At the December 1920 elections the socialists elected three representatives to the Cortes.

The General Labor Association, founded in 1889, is a federation of trade unions in sympathy with Socialism. Its membership is about five times that of the Socialist Labor Party. Its platform consists principally of recommendations for reform and labor legislation.

Switzerland

The oldest political working-class organization in Switzerland is the Grütli union, founded in 1838, with a membership chiefly composed of artisans and handworkers. In 1878 it accepted Socialism in principle, and in 1901 it joined the Social Democratic party, but seceded again during the war.

The Social Democratic party was originally formed under Marxian influence in 1888. It still stands for internationalism of the strictest type. Politically this party has achieved the defeat of various anti-socialist measures.

In 1902 the party polled 55,000 votes and elected seven members to the national chamber, whose total membership is 189. In 1919 it elected 39 deputies, reaching third place among national political organizations, the Radical Democrats coming first with 63 seats, the Catholic conservatives second with 42, and the peasant party fourth with 27.

United States

Socialism in the United States had its beginnings in the early part of the 19th century in the establishment of experimental communities after the plan of the utopian Socialists.

Between 1848-1890 the socialist movement was largely composed of the immigrant element. Until the late nineties socialism made little headway amongst the American element of the country. While this is still true to a considerable extent, a large proportion of the Socialist Party members are at present American citizens.

The main socialist and labor organizations in the United States are the following:

I. The Socialist Labor Party.
II. The Socialist Party of America.
III. The Communist Party of America.
IV. The United Communist Party.
V. The National Non-Partisan League.
VI. The Farmer-Labor Party.

I. The Socialist Labor Party was organized in 1877. It reached the peak of its power in 1898 under the leadership of Daniel De Leon. In the election of 1898 it polled a vote of 80,000. Opposition to the American Federation of Labor resulted in the formation by this party of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which declared for industrial unionism and fought the principle of craft unions. The formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance led to a split in the party. Those who seceded formed the present Socialist Party of America. This alliance was not successful and with the advent of the Socialist Party the Socialist Labor Party lost votes and gradually sank to its present insignificant size. Theoretically the influence of this tiny group has been great in Scotland, Wales, United States, and Ireland. The Shop Stewards, the Labor College, the Workers' Union, the British S. L. P. all have been influenced by DeLeon's pamphleteering. Secretary Socialist Labor Party, Arnold Peterson, 45 Rose St., New York.

II. The Socialist Party of America was founded about 1901 by a coalition of sections of the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party in which Hillquit, Berger, Debs, and

Seymour Stedman were prominent. The present name was adopted 1903-1904. It reached the height of its membership in 1912 with a roll of 118,000 but lost members through internal friction between the direct actionists, communists, and parliamentary Socialists, resulting in the split of 1919. The national executive committee of the Socialist Party adopted various resolutions in January, 1919, expressing toward the new National Labor Party an attitude of watchful waiting. The present membership of the Socialist Party is about 26,000. In the November, 1920 election it polled nearly 1,000,000 votes. Secretary National Executive Committee, Otto Branstetter, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

III. The Communist Party of America seceded in 1919 from the Socialist Party after the expulsion of some foreign language federations and three state organizations because of alleged opposition to the Socialist Party's principles. Its tactics and principles are taken with little modification from those of the Russian Bolsheviks. The United States Secretary of Labor rendered in 1919 a decision declaring membership in the Communist Party sufficient cause for deportation of aliens, and many members have been sent to Europe under this decision.

IV. The United Communist Party is a union of a group who left the Socialist party in 1919 forming the Communist Labor party, and a seceding group from the Communist party.

V. The Non-Partisan League, organized in 1915, is composed of farmers who aim at socialization of various economic enterprises through cooperative management and political representation within existing parties. The league's birthplace is North Dakota, but it has spread to a number of agricultural states and is now organized on a national basis, claiming a membership in 1919 of 250,000. The President is A. C. Townley, in care National Non-Partisan League, St. Paul, Minnesota.

VI. The Farmer Labor Party was organized at a convention in Chicago in June, 1920, by representatives of local labor parties and local unions throughout the country. A constitution was adopted, and officers and standing committees elected. A platform was adopted and a national ticket nominated. Since the convention the organization has been extended but no accurate estimate can be obtained of the present membership. In the November, 1920, election it polled nearly 300,000 votes.

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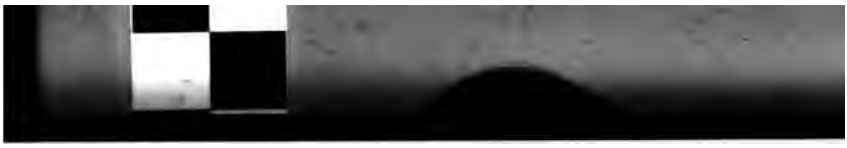

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GUILD SOCIALISM

Guild Socialism as a theory of industrial reorganization originated in England about 1900 as a reaction against the theory of state socialism. A. J. Penty, A. R. Orage, and S. G. Hobson were principally responsible for the formulation of a plan to convert trade unions into guilds, taking the name from the old craft guilds of the middle ages. G. D. H. Cole has been influential in popularizing the movement.

In theory the national guilds aim at an adjustment between the syndicalist plan for the supremacy of the workers as producers, and the collectivist theory of the supremacy of the state.

A national guild, as proposed in this plan, is the association of all the workers of every kind, administrative, executive, and productive, in any particular industry, to constitute a self-governing organization of the industry and "to carry on that industry on behalf of the whole community." The aims of the guild socialists, as defined in the constitution of the National Guilds League, are "the abolition of the wage system, and the establishment by the worker of self-government in industry through a democratic system of national guilds working in conjunction with a democratic state."

According to G. D. H. Cole, the relations between guilds would vary widely in closeness and importance from case to case. Every guild concerned with industry or economic service would be represented in an Industrial Guilds' Congress which "would be the final representative body of the guild system on its industrial side." The proper national representation of collective consumption would rest in a national collective Utilities Council, the Civic Service organization would be represented by Civic Guilds and lastly the civic body or citizens by Cultural and Health Councils.

The guild socialists are divided into factions.[1] The two main

[1] There is not one Guild Socialism, but many Guild Socialisms. Collectivism we know and Capitalism we know. But Guild Socialism is a very Proteus. Its phases are legion, its Guilds of infinite variety. There are the all hand-woven Guilds of the Middle Ages Union, the Glory-be-to-God Guilds of Mr. Reckitt, the Glory-be-to-Trotsky Guilds of the new N. G. L. Executive, the esoteric bank-on-me Guilds of Major Douglas, the Guilds-and-water of Mr. Stirling Taylor. Not to mention the functional jig-saws of Mr. Cole. There is also Hobson's Choice.—The Guildsman, March 1921.

factions are those of Cole and Hobson. Those around G. D. H. Cole are opposed to the theory of state sovereignty, reject the idea of the state as the final and only representative of the consumers and contend that a new coordinating body should be established which would bring together the various functional bodies—industrial guilds, cooperative and collective utilities councils, civic service guilds, cultural councils and health councils—and which would not be inconsistent with the theory of functional democracy on which the system of guild socialism is based. The bodies enumerated above would not, however, complete the composition of the Commune, as Mr. Cole calls the coordinating body. "In any instance, there might be special organizations to which it would be desirable, on account of their importance in the town, to give representation. Again, what is far more important, the town as a whole cannot be treated as an undifferentiated unit. In electing their representatives to serve on the four councils mentioned above, the citizens, if the town were of any size, would almost certainly vote by wards and each member on a council would sit there as a ward representative in relation to his particular function."[1]

The other faction centers around Mr. S. G. Hobson and the editors of the New Age. Mr. Hobson considers the state "as the organ of citizenship, possessing full freedom of movement, itself assuming all or any functions which cannot be assigned to any suitable organization—particularly in the case of sudden emergencies; it is undoubtedly the appropriate organ for all emergencies, great or small. As for sovereignty, I end as I began: The citizen (voicing his will through the State) must take precedence over the Guildsman. I recognize no other sovereignty."[2] Mr. Hobson admits that the subject of the state has barely been touched. And Cole says that he does not know "whether the national body—the 'state' if you will—should be a Parliament or a Congress or political Soviet."[3]

The Cole faction is again divided into those who are sympathetic to the soviet theories and direct action, and the more moderate group which does not agree with the soviet ideas. The Hobson faction is divided among those who consider the

[1] Cole, G. D. H. Guild socialism re-stated. p. 125-6.
[2] Hobson, S. G. National guilds and the State. p. 352-3.
[3] Cole, G. D. H. Self-Government in Industry. Preface to the edition. of 1919.

abolition of the wage system essential to the introduction of national guilds and those represented by Mr. A. J. Penty who object to the prevailing emphasis on quantity production and consider industrialism a more fundamental enemy of labor than capitalism.

Then we have the Christian Guild Socialists, as represented by Mr. Reckitt, who emphasize the Christian idea in guild socialism. The annual meetings of the National Guilds League always bring up anew the question whether the League should not change its name to Guild Socialist League and the decision is postponed from year to year.

The strength of the guild socialists is not expressed in their numbers. It is the influence which they have secured in a few powerful trade unions that has given them standing in the labor world. The ex-president of the miners, Mr. Robert Smillie, the secretary, Frank Hodges and William Straker, are guild socialists, and before the Sankey Coal commission, which recommended the nationalization of coal, proposed a guild socialist scheme for the introduction of coal nationalization. The guild socialists have also secured a real influence among the railway workers' union and already experiments are being made in the building trade unions in the setting up of local building guilds which have undertaken contracts for building houses under government auspices. On the educational field the guild socialists are performing their work through the National Guilds League and also indirectly through the Labour Research Department which is managed mostly by guild socialists. The guild socialists have rendered a real service to the socialization movement by making the socialists take a critical attitude towards the functions and authority of the state and also in outlining concrete plans for the administrative organization of the socialist society. This is the real service which they have performed.

Valuable contributions to the Guild Socialist literature are Cole's "Guild Socialism Re-Stated," and "Self-Government in Industry." A critical examination of the theory is given in Mr. Field's "Guild Socialism." The organ of the National Guilds League is "The Guildsman." 39 Cursitor st., London. E.C. 4.

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SYNDICALISM

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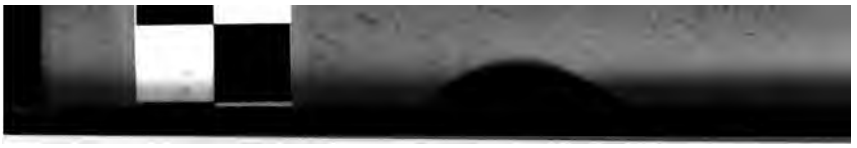

SYNDICALISM

Whereas anarchism and socialism were both born as theories, the name syndicalism is simply the French word for trade unionism, and originally had no larger significance. In 1902 the French central labor body (Confédération Générale du Travail) declared itself against political action and in favor of what has come to be known as syndicalism.

Dissatisfied with the political tactics and collectivistic aims of the socialists, the French *syndicats* or unions definitely abandoned socialist leadership, became quite separate in organization, and adopted the slogan of "industrial action."

They accepted the ideal of a society without political state organization, but gave it a practical means of expression through the principle of an industrial government. Syndicalism repudiates collectivist and parliamentary tactics, preferring direct action, by means of the general strike and "sabotage."

It wishes the organized workers to own all land and capital and administer all industry. The *syndicats,* or local unions, are to be loosely federated into three organizations, the *bourses du travail,* or central labor unions of a city or district; the national federation of each industry; and the general federation. The most important of these elements is the *bourse du travail,* and the national organizations are assigned only limited powers.

At the present time the influence of syndicalism as a philosophy appears to be waning. A distinct evidence of this is the fact that the C. G. T. in 1918 decided to give up its policy of political neutrality, and to cooperate with the socialist movement.

Levine's "Syndicalism in France" gives the best description of the movement. Sorel's "Reflections on Violence" interprets the theory, and Bertrand Russell's "Proposed Roads to Freedom" contains a good general review of syndicalism. Lagardelle, Leone and Labriola are prominent exponents of syndicalist philosophy, and their books on the subject are valuable.

Australia

The "Worker's Industrial Union of Australia" dates back to some years before the war. The platform of this organization

declared as its aim "to bind together in one organization all wage-workers in every industry, and to secure the abolition of capitalistic class ownership of the means of production and the establishment in its place of social ownership by the whole community." The strength of the organization is not considerable.

Canada

In 1906 the Industrial Workers of the World began organization in Canada, and formed many branches in Alberta and British Columbia, claiming in 1911 as many as 10,000 members. During the war a large proportion of the branches were dissolved, and there is at present no accurate information about the membership.

Denmark and Norway

Denmark has a small syndicalist group opposed to the policy of collective bargaining and parliamentary tactics. This movement gained strength during the war.

In Norway the syndicalists have secured control over the Metal Workers' Federation, one of the largest trade unions in the country.

France

The labor unions, "syndicats," increased considerably in number about 1884. In the early nineties the organization was furthered by the formation of "Bourses du Travail" or the workingmen's exchanges. Ferdinand Pelloutier first gave expression to revolutionary syndicalism based on direct action, and attacked parliamentary action. Although a few unions opposed this philosophy, imperative necessity for unity held the different elements of the Federation together. At present, the leadership of the C. G. T. (General Federation of Labor) has given up much of its former revolutionary tactics and has adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward the government. A strong movement, especially among the metal workers, headed by Piérre Monette, opposes the official policy of the C. G. T. The membership of the federation is now estimated at 1,500,000.

Germany

In Germany the syndicalist movement is represented by the "Gewerkschaftskommission der Freien Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften (General Commission of the Free Association of German Unions) and claims 60,000 members.

Great Britain

Syndicalism as a separate movement has gained very little foothold in England. But it has been influential in giving currency to the idea of industrial unionism. Tom Mann, its most outstanding figure, was until recently secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Holland

The "National Arbeids-Secretariaat" (National Labor Secretariat) of the Netherlands had in 1920 a membership of 33,060. It advocates sabotage and direct action, and discourages political action by the workers.

Italy

The Italian revolutionary syndicalists organized in 1906 the Italian Syndicalist Union, a frankly revolutionary organization free from any affiliation with the Socialist Party or the Italian General Federation of Labor. The organization represents the radical syndicalist element, which is opposed to political activity and favors direct action, the general strike and revolution. In 1920 the organization claimed 305,000 members.

Spain

In Spain the syndicalist movement is represented by the National Confederation of Labor. The confederation is an underground organization with anarcho-syndicalistic tendencies. It controls mainly the Catalonia district.

United States

Syndicalism in the United States has found expression in the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World. This was preceded by the Knights of Labor, similar in structure but not in philosophy, which was organized in 1869, and demanded "the grand union of all who toil, regardless of sex, of creed, or of color." The idealism of this theory could not survive the practical test of sympathetic strikes, tried in 1886-1888 at terrible cost on two railroads and among the longshoremen. The membership of this body (Knights of Labor) reached its maximum of about a million in 1887, then declined to 100,000 in 1898, and is now practically extinct.

The organization of the I. W. W. was inspired by the manifesto of a convention of labor leaders, held in January,

1905. This document contained an indictment of prevailing conditions in the trade-union world, tentative plans for a new departure in labor organization, and a call for a convention to organize this new union. At its inception in June, 1905, the I. W. W. was divided into three departments; mining, metal and machinery, and transportation. At first it devoted its energy to reforming the existing craft unions of the A. F. of L., against a very active opposition. It conducted numerous strikes in the early period, most of them unsuccessful because of inefficient leadership and imperfect organization. A year after its inauguration the union numbered 21,000 members, and three months later, 60,000. Any attempt to state the membership accurately is difficult, both because the enrolled members at any given moment represent only a fraction of the movement, and because at times of definite strike activity the enrollment temporarily increases. In 1921 the I. W. W. had about 15,000 members. The bulk of the membership is drawn from itinerant workers in agriculture and the lumber camps.

The I. W. W. has held consistently to its policies of complete democracy in membership, and direct industrial action as its principal method. For several years it has been practically an outlaw organization, working against legislative and judicial opposition and a campaign of antagonistic press propaganda. Its national headquarters are at 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago.

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BOLSHEVISM AND THE SOVIET STATE

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BOLSHEVISM AND THE SOVIET STATE

Russian Bolshevism is here classified separately from the main Socialist movement on account of its special significance as the only socialist experiment ever made on a large scale.

The word Bolshevik, which means "belonging to the majority," was originally applied to the left or radical wing of the Russian Socialist-Democratic Party at the time of the split in 1903.

Lenin, in an article on "The Communist Party" explains Bolshevism as follows:

> We are Marxists and our policy is based on the Communist Manifesto which has been perverted and disregarded by the Social Democracy. (Lenin means by Social Democracy the adherents to the "Second International." S.Z.) The term Social Democracy is unscientific. . . mankind can only pass from capitalism into socialism, that is, public ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to individual work. Our party looks farther ahead than that: socialism is bound sooner or later to ripen into Communism which banner bears the motto 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' The second part of the term Social Democracy is scientifically wrong. Democracy is only a form of authority. We Marxists are opposed to every form of authority.[1]

The Soviet State[2] established in Russia in November, 1917, has, however, assumed authority to the extent of a virtual dictatorship, supposedly only for the transition period, during which it claims as its mission to eradicate the causes of social inequality by making all citizens workers by either head or hand. All land and industries were theoretically nationalized very early in the soviet regime, but the nationalization has been broadly applied, leaving many industrial organizations cooperatively owned, and some leased back at a small rental to their former owners while the system of peasant ownership of land has largely displaced that of the state.

The political structure of the Soviet State is roughly as follows: Every factory and group of peasants elects its local

[1] Lenin and Trotzky: Proletarian Revolution in Russia, 1918, p. 153-4.

[2] Soviets are not identical with Bolshevism, and do not necessarily imply the dominance of Bolshevik theories and policies. The present Soviet state is, however, dominated by Bolshevik theories.

soviet, or council.[1] These units are represented in the town and district soviets, which in turn send delegates to the all-Russian Congress of Soviets. The delegates can be recalled at any time. This congress, held at least once a year, appoints a Central Executive Committee of 200 members, giving proportionate representation to the various political parties. The Executive Committee appoints the commissaries, in charge of foreign affairs, education, finance, justice, etc., who form the Council of People's Commissaries, or cabinet.

The economic soviet organization is centralized in the Supreme Council of Public Economy, a cabinet department, whose membership of 69 consists of 30 representatives from industrial unions, 20 from regional councils, 10 from the Central Executive Committee, 7 from the Council of People's Commissaries, and 2 from the Cooperatives. The Supreme Council appoints three delegates to the Central Board of Management of each of the principal industries organized on a national scale. This board also contains three technical experts and three practical workers.[2] A former correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* wrote that: "the Supreme Council of Public Economy was the tool designed to create the new order in Russia; the soviet was only the temporary weapon to protect the hands that worked that tool."

General descriptions by observers of Russia under the Soviet regime are given in Antonelli's "Bolshevik Russia," W. T. Goode's "Bolshevism at Work," the Report of the British Labour Delegation to Russia, Brailsford's "Russian Workers' Republic" and Arthur Ransome's "The Crisis in Russia", Lenin and Trotzky's "Proletarian Revolution in Russia" defends the theories of Bolshevism.

[1] The most distinctive feature of the Soviet organization is that it is based upon the workshops and natural units of industry, and that its structure rests finally upon the factory committee or its equivalent. Similarly a peasant's soviet is based on the agricultural community of the village.

[2] In 1921 the Supreme Council of Public Economy had under it "fifty-three Departments or Centres (Textile, Soap, Wool, Timber, Flax, etc.), each controlled by a 'College' of three or more persons. There are 232 members of these Colleges or Boards in all, and of them 83 are workmen, 79 are engineers, 1 was an ex-director, 50 were from the clerical staff, and 19 unclassified.

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ANARCHISM

Anarchism as a modern social movement came into existence as a protest against the attempt to reorganize society by parliamentary action along lines advocated by Karl Marx and his followers. As advocated by its present adherents it stands for communal ownership of land and capital without State control and without obligation to work. It wishes to substitute for parliamentary machinery a community operated by all members of society on a voluntary cooperative basis.

While many of the ideas of anarchism were stated by Greek, Chinese and other philosophers of ancient times, as a distinct philosophical and political movement it dates only from 1850. The first prominent exponent of modern philosophical anarchism was Proudhon. Bakunin was the first great practical leader of the movement and Kropotkin has supported its theories in many scientific works.

The popular idea which associates anarchism with violence is largely due to crude and irresponsible individual attempts to overthrow existing institutions by force. The leading members of the movement desire to see their aims realized through widespread education.

The strongest support for the movement is found in the Latin countries; in Spain, Italy, France and to some extent in Russia.

For an impartial description of anarchism the reader is referred to Eltzbacher's "Anarchism." Kropotkin's and Bakunin's writings are the most authoritative books from an anarchistic point of view. A brilliant refutation of anarchism from the socialist standpoint is to be found in Bernard Shaw's "Impossibilities of Anarchism."

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